

The University of Chicago

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE *COM-
PENDIUM MORALE* OF
ROGER DE WALTHAM

A DISSERTATION SUBMITTED TO THE FACULTY
OF THE DIVISION OF THE HUMANITIES IN
CANDIDACY FOR THE DEGREE OF DOCTOR
OF PHILOSOPHY

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

1935

By
WILLIAM PARK HOTCHKISS

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PREFACE

This study of the University of Chicago's manuscript of Roger de Waltham's Compendium Morale was begun in the spring of 1931 with the expectation of preparing ultimately a critical edition of the text. It was believed that the Compendium Morale, which was supposedly a treatise on political theory, or at least on political virtue, would contribute something toward our scanty knowledge of political theory in England in the dim period between the polemists of the Barons' War and Fortescue. A complete transcript of the manuscript,--now deposited in the University of Chicago Library,--was prepared. In the course of the transcription and subsequent analysis of the text, it became clear that the Compendium Morale possesses no originality, but is rather a mosaic of passages, some acknowledged, some not, excerpted from a wide range of classical and medieval authors. It is a handbook of quotations, sententious sayings, and stories, better adapted to the needs of pulpit orators than to politicians or jurists; its significance for the history of political theory is purely negative. Again, the mutilation of the texts in the process of excerption renders the work almost if not entirely useless to the scholar of classical or medieval text traditions. The plan of making a critical edition was therefore abandoned, but the investigation of Waltham's life and the analysis of the literary sources of the Compendium were continued in the hope that some contribution, however slight, might be made to the knowledge of medieval compendia and their makers.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my deep

appreciation for the generous aid and encouragement given by my friends and colleagues throughout the course of this study. Especially I mention with affection Professor James Westfall Thompson, to whose inspiration whatever of value there may be in this opusculum is due; the dross and the errors are my own.

Chicago
9 August, 1935

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BIOGRAPHY OF ROGER DE WALTHAM

A

Roger de Waltham, the author of the Compendium Morale, was a clerk in the service of Anthony Bek, bishop of Durham (1283-1310). Of the details of his personal life practically nothing is known, either from the writings of his contemporaries or from his own; he has left us in the dark as to his family, the date of his birth, his education, the circumstances of his connection with Bek. In the Compendium there are only three references to himself: of these, two reveal him in the cosmopolitan entourage of the magnificent bishop, listening attentively to the stories which were told in the great hall and around the banquet board, regrettably seeming to believe them;¹ and the third reference simply states that he had once been at Peterborough Abbey, and had seen the right arm of King Oswald preserved there as a relic.² Not much can be constructed around such evidence. As a clerk at Durham and later at London, Waltham was in a splendid position to view history in the making, but the events of his own time left no deposit in the Compendium, and he himself was either too

¹Roger de Waltham, Compendium Morale, fol. 38 r.: "De quodam eciam rege norwagiensi Magni re et nomine viro virtuoso, litterato, sapiente et justo audiui quemdam clericum suum, secretarium postea domini mei Antonii Episcopi Dunelmensis et Patriarche Ierosolyme familiarem hoc referre, etc. . . ." Ibid., fol. 187 v.: ". . . . (the story of the cobbler of Jerusalem whose faith moved mountains) que huius operis compilator per quemdam magnum prelatum Episcopum Religiosum illius terre sancte in presentia domini sui Antonii, Patriarche Iheros' et aliarum quam plurimum magnatum et clericorum regularium et secularium de predicto sancto Sutore audivit, frequencius recitari."

²Ibid., fol. 155 r.

inoffensive or too unimportant to attract the attention of the chroniclers. He even lacked the dubious distinction of being spectacularly murdered or executed, but apparently died quietly in his own bed.

In the complete lack of journalistic evidence, therefore, the life of Waltham must be reconstructed almost entirely from record materials, with the inevitable result that a colorless character, with the mouldy smell of archives about it, emerges despite the best of efforts. Now the records reveal Waltham first in the questionable guise of a pluralist, holding the rectorate of Longnewton, diocese of Durham, along with a prebend in the collegiate church of Darlington. In the quality of occupant of those benefices, Roger received a letter of dispensation from Benedict XI (1303-4) which granted him permission to receive another benefice, with the right to exchange.³ If one may assume that the canonical prescription of thirty years of age as a prerequisite for ordination was adhered to in the diocese of Durham,--and Roger's contemporaries would have laughed at the naiveté of such an assumption,--the Rector of Longnewton was at least thirty years old in 1304, which would throw the date of birth back to 1274 or earlier. No closer approximation can be made because of the lack of evidence. There is material, however, from which the very substantial nature of Bek's patronage may be reconstructed. In April, 1305, Bek secured from Clement V (1305-14) the privilege of granting dispensations for plurality to two of his clerks, so that each

³Charles Grandjean, *Le Registre de Benoît XI* (Paris: Fontemoing, 1905), p. 390, No. 605, dated at St. Peter's, 31 March, 1304. The dispensation in a fuller form is repeated in the in-speximus and confirmation of Bishop Richard Kellawe of Durham under date of 23 March, 1313-1314. At this later date Roger was holding benefices at Egglecliffe, Loddon, Auckland, and Chester-le-Street as well. See Registrum Palatinum Dunelmense, ed. Sir Thomas D. Hardy, Rolls Series (London, 1873), I, 523-524.

could hold benefices worth two hundred marks per annum. One of these clerks was Roger de Waltham, who received the patent letters of dispensation from his master in July, 1306. The language of the letters indicates that Waltham as familiaris and household clerk of Bek was standing in high favor, and that sometime in the interval 1304-6 he had been granted a prebend at Loddon, probably in fulfilment of the dispensation of Benedict XI.⁴

The survey of ecclesiastical property for taxation purposes, which was made by the commissioners of Nicholas IV for most of England in 1291, was not extended to include the palatinate of Durham; hence this otherwise most important source of information is useless as regards our man. In 1306, however, a new assessment was carried through within the boundaries of the Palatinate, from which we learn that Roger de Waltham had added to the prebends he already held, others in the collegiate churches of Auckland and Chester-le-Street.⁵ In 1314, Roger was rector of the parish

⁴Reg. Pal. Dun., I, 520-30. The inspeximus and confirmation of Bishop Kellawe, dated March, 1314, includes the bull of Clement V and the letter of Bek. The language of the latter, even discounting for the usual ebullition of chancery practise, shows that Roger's status with the Bishop was very high: "Nos igitur multiplicia virtutum honestatis et gratiarum dona, quibus, ab expertis tuis laudabilibus obsequiis et conversatione diutina circa latera nostra, industriosa fidelitate et tua fidei industria, adhibitis, te novimus insigniri, debita consideratione pensantes, volentesque ob ea, et alia probitatis tue merita quod in personam tuam cujus gratitudinem et fidei devotionem agnoscimus, quam etiam speramus in ecclesia Dei, ipso opitulante, etc." Cf. Calendar of Papal Registers, II, 7. Among the witnesses is a certain "Walter dicto 'Wadyn' de Waltham, clericus" whom I should like to make a relative of Roger, but there is no proof to be adduced.

⁵Reg. Pal. Dun., III, 87f. for the Taxa Nova. Roger de Waltham is listed specifically for the portiones of Darlington (p.102), for Auckland (p.103), and Chester-le-Street (p.104). In the Comptus of Robert of Durham and William Kellawe, made for Bishop Richard de Kellawe in the first year of his pontificate (1310-11), the porcio of Chester is ascribed to Roger de Waltham, but that for Darlington is given to Roger "de Wiltham." (Historiae Dunelmenses Scriptores Tres, ed. Raine, Surtees Society, IX [London, 1839], cv. The mis-spelling occurs only once in the Comptus, but from this one citation it is taken up by Boutflower in his

church of Eggescliffe, and probably had already held the benefice for some time.⁶ He had surrendered the rectorate at Longnewton by 1308, having been succeeded in this benefice by John Albini de Jargeaux, a notorious pluralist who later became chaplain to Queen Isabella. Perhaps the acquisition of Eggescliffe represented the exchange posited by the dispensation of Benedict XII.⁷ The rectorate of Eggescliffe in turn was given up before 1324, for the Italian, Simon de Sapiti of Florence, was pastor of the church in that year.

Some time in the interval between 1306 and 1310 additional honors and emoluments came to Roger; he secured a prebend at St. Paul's, London, and became temporal chancellor of Durham. In April, 1310, he was party to one of the most underhanded transactions of the decade, when, as a witness, he signed the quit-claim whereby Anthony Bek handed over the lands of the de Vesci to Henry de Percy. The rôle which Waltham played in counselling or abetting this transfer is unknown, but the document itself is particularly valuable insofar as it establishes positively the identification of Roger as the clericus of Bek, chancellor of Durham, and canon of St. Paul's. His name is listed among the witnesses as "domino Rogero de Waltham, canonico London', cancellario nostro" in the group designated as "clericis nostris" (i.e. Bek's). This is, so far as I know, the earliest notice of his tenure of the prebend

compilation of the Fasti Dunelmenses (p.142) where he makes the additional error of spelling it "Witham." Roger de Waltham probably held the prebend at Darlington straight through to his death in 1341 (q.v. infra).

⁶Reg. Pal. Dun., I, 526. Cf. Fasti Dunelmenses, ed. D. S. Boutflower, Surtees Society, CXXXIX (London, 1927), 135, where Roger is listed as rector of Eggescliffe in 1312. No authority is given.

⁷Fasti. Dunelmenses, pp. 114, 135, 167.

at St. Paul's.⁸ The exact date of the appointment is uncertain, but it is unlikely that it came before the restoration of Anthony Bek to royal favor on the accession of Edward II (July, 1307). Just previous to the signature of the Percy charter, Roger had been involved in another rather dubious transaction. Bek and a group of his followers had carried off from Tewkesbury Abbey "jewels of gold and silver, gems, goods, charters, writings, and muniments" which belonged to Gilbert de Clare, Earl of Gloucester. On the complaint of the Earl, a royal commission was issued, 18 March, 1310, to investigate the case, in which the name of "Roger de Waltham, clerk" appeared among the other malefactors.⁹ No serious inconvenience, apparently, resulted from the investigation, for, on the 12th of May in the same year, Roger was present at Stockton to witness, in his capacity of chancellor and canon of London, a charter whereby Anthony Bek transferred certain lands to Gilbert Gategang, et ux.¹⁰ The de Vesci and Gategang charters are the only evidence of Waltham's activity as chancellor of Durham. The loss of Bek's register has limited the amount of material available, but, even from the scraps cited above, one may legitimately infer that Waltham played an important rôle in the administrative work of the Palatinate, and that he made many

⁸M. T. Martin, The Percy Chartulary, Surtees Society, CXVII (London, 1911), 242, Doc. No. DCLXXIII. This is the notorious transfer of the de Vesci lands to the already powerful house of Percy. The barony had been given to Bek by William de Vesci in 1295, to hold in trust for his bastard son, William de Vesci of Kildare, the sole heir to the inheritance. As a result of a quarrel between the youth and Bek, the latter broke the trust and negotiated the sale of the lands in 1309, the document here cited being the consummation of the deal. This shady transaction would have supplied Roger with good material for the Compendium, but he failed to utilize it. Perhaps he had something like it in his mind when he provided prayers for the soul of Bek at his chantry in St. Paul's.

⁹Calendar of Patent Rolls 1307-1313, p. 257.

¹⁰Cal. Charter Rolls 1300-1326, p. 193.

valuable contacts, both in the north country and at London.

B

By the death of Bek, 3 March, 1310/11, Roger lost his patron and friend. The ensuing change of administration at Durham cost him the chancellorship.¹¹ The exact time of the transfer of his major interests from Durham to London is uncertain, and the paucity of documents concerning his life between 1310 and 1321 makes guessing dangerous. The troubled times which preceded and followed the Bannockburn campaign made life in the Palatinate uncomfortable and precarious. London doubtless seemed a haven of refuge. One document survives to show that Roger was having his share of trouble. In 1314 as rector of Egglecliffe, he complained to the Bishop of Durham concerning the "manifestas offensas" of eight men, on the basis of which the Bishop ordered the arrest of the offenders.¹² After this date, Roger's name disappears from the Durham register until the regrant of his benefices in 1341; his whole attention in the meantime seems to have been concentrated upon the service of St. Paul's and the crown.

When the problem of grouping the manifold facets of Waltham's life after 1314 into intelligible categories presented itself, the ideal medieval distinction between the spiritual and the temporal appeared to be a logical solution: Roger was an ecclesiastic and likewise a civil servant. It would be simple to consider him first as a clergyman, and then to pass to his political life as a category apart. But the larger part of the recorded

¹¹Reg. Pal. Dun., I, 262. Bishop Kellawe issued an order, 22 December, 1312, to the chancellor of Durham for the arrest of John "de Warayne," excommunicated "propter suam contumaciam, pariter et offensam, ad instantiam domini Rogeri de Waltham contractam."

¹²Reg. Pal. Dun., II, 680.

acts which concerned him as a churchman dealt with secular interests: the purchase of real estate, the administration of and the litigation for lands, loans, collections, etc. His political life was inextricably intertwined with ecclesiastical matters, for the benefices of St. Paul's were freely employed in lieu of salary stipends for the half-lay, half-cleric servants of the royal administrative staff; the Chapter of that venerable cathedral was little more than a polite, well-endowed London club for the king's clerks. With full realization of the violence which is done to the historical complex as it existed in actuality, I shall nevertheless, for purposes of simplicity, treat Roger first as a canon of St. Paul's, and then as a political figure.

Waltham held the prebend of Cadington Minor for the better part of his public life in London. He was doubtless in occupancy of the benefice in 1316 and probably retained it until 1337, when it was granted to Thomas Bradwardine, the chaplain of the illustrious Richard de Bury.¹³ The tenure of the benefice was not entirely uneventful. With the resumption of the quo warranto proceedings under Edward III, the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's were summoned to show by what warrant they claimed the liberties (a

¹³William Dugdale, The History of St. Paul's Cathedral, ed. Henry Ellis (London: Lackington, Hughes, 1818), p. 239. Ellis asserts that Roger appears as prebendary of Cadington Minor in 1316, that he was the king's chaplain, and archdeacon of Buck's in 1322. No authorities are given. I have found nothing to substantiate the assertion that Roger was the king's chaplain. Ellis probably confused Roger de Waltham with Roger Capellanus, a prebendary of Oxgate in 1192, whose obit was celebrated at St. Paul's on 16 October (cf. W. S. Simpson, Documents Illustrating the History of St. Paul's, Camden Society, n.s., XXVI [London, 1880], 179). On the archdeaconry, see infra. George Hennessy in his Novum Repertorium Ecclesiasticum Parochiale Londinense (London: Swan Sonnenschein, 1898), p. 19, says that Roger was appointed to the prebend of Cadington Minor in 1316, vacated it in 1329. No authority is given, but I suspect that he followed Simpson (op. cit., p. 179) without critical examination. Simpson placed the death of Roger in 1329. On the appointment of Bradwardine through the influence of Richard de Bury, see W. R. S. Stephens' article on Bradwardine in the D.N.B., II, 1097.

long list) in the prebends of Cadington Major and Cadington Minor.¹⁴ The Dean and Chapter through their attorney, Radulph de Braham, asserted that the liberties belonged de jure to the church of St. Paul's, but that they also extended to the prebends in question. The defense of the liberties was passed on to John de Mansus, the prebendary of Cadington Major, and to Roger de Waltham. The canons thereupon paid over 20 shillings for license to defend their claim later. In the second session John and Roger claimed the right of frankpledge by immemorial seisin, and the remainder of their liberties through a charter of Edward II confirming a previous charter of William the Conqueror. Richard de Aldeburgh, pleading for the king, rejected the plea of the defendants on the ground that the liberties and quittances had not been claimed at the latest eyre. Roger and John found themselves unable to deny the charge, but paid a mark for license to claim by the authority of the charters, etc. Aldeburgh then rejected the pleas on the ground that specific regalian rights and liberties could not be claimed from the general wording of the charters, and demanded that an inquest be made as to the administration of the liberties by the said Roger and John. A day was set for the new hearing. On the appointed day the jury appeared and reported that Roger and John and their predecessors had been seised of the view of frankpledge time out of mind as pertaining to the prebends ut de jure of St. Paul's, and that the liberties had been properly used, at least since the time of the charter of Edward II. There were certain exceptions, however. The canons did not have a pillory to punish transgressors of the view of frankpledge, nor did they punish transgressors of the assize of bread and beer by judicial

¹⁴Placita de quo warranto (London: Record Comm., 1818), p. 15 ff. For Mid-summer term, 4 Edward III.

process, but only by fines and amercements. The canons likewise did not make use of their right of warren. As a result of the jury's report, the view of frankpledge was taken into the hands of the king, and the warren was abolished. John and Roger were placed at the mercy of the king. Later, they bought back the view of frankpledge for one mark. As for the chattels of felons and fugitives, year and waste, amercements, and quittance of murder, the prebendaries claimed that they had accounted properly for these items with the Exchequer. The sceptical court ordered an investigation to be made of the Exchequer accounts, but no report is appended to the case in the P.Q.W.¹⁵ Roger's bookkeeping was probably sound. The type of management current on Roger's lands is suggested by these sparse details of the jury's report. The good canon was not "an out-rydere, that loved venerye," nor could one say that "of hunting for the hare was al his lust," but his solicitude for the shillings is very apparent.

When Cadington Minor was given to Thomas Bradwardine, Roger seems to have received in compensation the revenues of the manor of Sutton. In 1337 the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's leased to him the manor and the tithes therein, "as long as he lived, and was canon of St. Paul's, and answered the ferm," with the additional condition that he should not be elected and confirmed a bishop.¹⁶ Sutton was an important and profitable manor. The grant would indicate that Roger was still an individual of importance at this date, when most of his earlier biographers report him dead and buried.

In addition to the revenues properly attendant upon his

¹⁵Placita de quo warranto, pp. 40, 41.

¹⁶Historical Manuscripts Commission Reports, VIII, 633 B. Queen Anne's Bounty MS, No. 64.

position as a member of the Chapter of the cathedral, Roger also possessed considerable property in the city of London as a private individual. In 1325 he owned three shops and, probably, two dwellings in "Sopereslane," parish of St. Pancras; a messuage in "Oldfisshe" street, parish of St. Mary Magdalene; and, before October, 1326, a messuage in "Distaf lane," in the parish of St. Augustine. This group of properties had been acquired for the specific purpose of founding a chantry at St. Paul's from their revenues. Before July, 1329, he had improved the last named messuage by building upon it an "apartment house" containing ten "mansiones." Other houses are mentioned from which money was derived for the maintenance of obits at St. Paul's located "in the parish of St. Benedict," and "opposite the brewhouse of St. Paul's."¹⁷ In 1332, Roger acquired a tenement on the west side of Wood Street in the parish of St. Alphege, from John de Preston, girdler.¹⁸ Probably the finest of all his possessions was his own residence, or "hostel," in the ward of Castle Baynard. Although Roger, like so many moralists--and particularly his favorite moral philosopher, Seneca--praised the simple life to the skies, he nevertheless maintained an extensive establishment for his own comfort, if the mention of a cook and a chamberlain may be cited to posit the existence of a large supporting cast of domestics. The worthy canon did not however, select his servants with rigorous prerequisites for their tranquillitate animi.¹⁹

¹⁷For the details regarding these properties, see infra, under the description of the chantry.

¹⁸Hist. MSS Comm. Rep., IX, 2, A. MS of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, A Box I, No. 1628.

¹⁹Reginald R. Sharpe, Calendar of Coroner's Rolls of the City of London, A.D. 1300-1378 (London: Richard Clay, 1913). There are two cases in these coroner's rolls which concern Roger's residence. On 13 January, 18 Edward II (1324-1325), an inquest was held over the body of John Acke (op. cit., pp. 109-110, Roll

It is evident from the property cited above that Roger was not a practising devotee of apostolic poverty. There are a few documents, however, which exhibit him in the functional aspects of his clerical position. On 30 December, 1316, Roger de Waltham and John de Ditton came to Nottingham, and announced to the King the death of Gilbert de Seagrave, the bishop of London; whereupon they received from the King the letters of license to elect a new bishop.²⁰ Two years later Roger was a member, along with Robert Baldock, Robert de Clothale, and Stephen Seagrave, of a commission investigating the proposed appropriation of the church of St. Peter at Colchester.²¹ In 1322, Waltham apparently negotiated the presentation of Hugh Bouzi to the church of Couden in the diocese of Rochester, although his action in this case may have been simply an administrative rubber stamp.²² In the same year Roger was appointed archdeacon of Buckingham through an

D, No. 16). The jurors reported that "on the preceding Wednesday at dusk, the aforesaid John met Richard, the chamberlain of Sir Roger de Waltham, and John le Bakere, the said Roger's cook, in Athelyngestreet (Addle Street), in the parish of St. Benedict (St. Bennet Hithe by Paul's Wharf), in the Ward of Castle Baynard, and a quarrel having risen between them, the said Richard struck the said John with his staff called "gisarme" on the middle of the neck, and the said John le Bakere struck the said John Acke with a knife on the chest and arm, inflicting three wounds which were not mortal: that thereupon they left the said John Acke there half dead, and fled into the hostel of the said Sir Roger, he being entirely ignorant of what had taken place. . . ." Although the wounds were "not mortal," John Acke lived only until midnight. There is no evidence to show that Roger was eager to surrender his servants to the law. Perhaps a good cook was as scarce then as now. The second case has a good deal less action. An inquest was held over the body of a certain Hugh de St. Alban, carpenter, who, on Thursday of Easter week, 17 Edward II (1324) died of injuries received the week before. He had gone up a ladder to repair the gate of Sir Roger's hostel, fell from the top of the gate, and "fatally broke his head" (op. cit., p. 82, Roll C, No. 14).

²⁰Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1313-1317, p. 630, 30 December, 1316.

²¹R. C. Fowler, Registrum Radulphi Baldock, Gilberti Se-Ricardi Newport, et Stephani Gravesend Episcoporum Londoniensium 1304-1338, Canterbury and York Society, VII (London, 1911), 200.

²²Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1321-1324, p. 108.

amusing misunderstanding. The king's kinsman, George de Saluciis, was the holder of the archdeaconry of Buckingham in the church of St. Mary, Lincoln, and likewise of the prebend of Charminster and Beer at Salisbury, as well as the prebend of Massam in the church of St. Peter, York. George, for reasons unknown, dropped out of sight in June, 1322, and was reported dead to the King. Edward then rewarded three of his clerks, all well-known figures of the royal administrative staff: Roger de Waltham, John de Stratford, and William de Ayremynne, respectively, with the three benefices.²³ George, however, reappeared in person and in good health sometime before 28 October, 1322. The King, on information of Robert Baldock, regranted the benefices to George, and sent cancellations of the appointments to the bishops of Salisbury, Lincoln, and York.²⁴ Since Roger was busily occupied in the service of the court at this time, it is very doubtful that he took any active part in the care of his benefice.

Within the next three years (1323-1326), the discontent of the barons and populace alike with the rule of the king and his favorites spread more and more widely. Riots in London became more frequent. 1325 was an anxious year, presaging ill for the days to come. The canons of St. Paul's were nervous, and rightly so, for many of the detested politicians were connected with the chapter. The Dean himself was an officer of the treasury, and Baldock, the chancellor of England, one of the most hated men in the realm, was a canon. Roger was present at St. Paul's when the bones of St. Erkenwald were removed to a new shrine, 1 February, 1325. The solemn ceremony of translation had to be performed in

²³Ibid., p. 138.

²⁴Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1321-1324, p. 214; Cal. Close Rolls, 1318-1323, p. 602.

the cold hours of the night in order to avoid trouble from the London populace.²⁵ The cathedral, however, was not seriously disturbed until the following year. The conspirators, who were plotting the downfall of the King, had sensitive fingers on the pulse of the London mob, and were ready to exploit its fury when the time seemed ripe. On the fifteenth of October, 1326, a mob gathered force, seized upon Bishop Stapeldon, the treasurer, and, with frightful brutality, murdered him. The mangled body was brought to St. Paul's to be prepared for burial.

When Queen Isabella invaded England, the king and his henchmen saw that the game was up and prepared to flee. Edward II deposited some of Baldock's chests in the treasury of St. Paul's for safe keeping under the seal of Roger de Waltham. Among Baldock's possessions, however, were included some of Roger's valuables, particularly his account books for the period when he was the keeper of the wardrobe (1322-1323).²⁶ The arrest of Baldock by the partisans of the Queen, 16 November, 1326, was followed by riots in London, and for a time the city was practically in the hands of the mob. The treasury of St. Paul's was looted,²⁷ and, among other things Baldock's chests were carried off to the Guildhall by men whom Roger later designated as his

²⁵Simpson, Documents, p. 51, from the Short Chronicle of St. Paul's, ad diem 1 February, 1325. ". . . in media nocte, propter tumultum populi evitandum, corpus B. Erkenwaldis fuit amotum ab illo loco, ubi prius translatus fuit prope magnum altare, usque ad novam Capellam B. Mariae, et in novo feretro honorifice collocatum, per Johannem de Everdon . . . [follows list of names, including] . . . Rogerum de Waltham."

²⁶T. F. Tout, Chapters in the Administrative History of Medieval England (London: Longmans, Green, 1928), IV, 91. Tout gives an abstract of Roger's statement to the Barons of the Exchequer, 3 November, 1327, explaining why his accounts were still incomplete.

²⁷Reginald R. Sharpe, Calendar of Letter-Books Preserved among the Archives of the Corporation of the City of London at the Guildhall (London, 1903), p. xix.

own civic enemies.²⁸ Baldock was himself imprisoned in the London house of the Bishop of Hereford, whence he was subsequently escorted by the mob to Newgate prison for "safe-keeping." He was so badly beaten in the process that he died in misery a few days after incarceration. It would be interesting to know under what circumstances Roger was able to save his own neck. In any case, nothing is known of the relations between Roger and the new government until November of 1327. In that month he was summoned to account with the exchequer, but was unable to do so because the books were still at the Guildhall. On 20 November, 1327, a writ of privy seal was issued to the "mayor, the aldermen, and commonality" of London bidding them to deliver to Roger de Waltham the chests, etc., which were in their charge; the chests were duly delivered, "together with other goods and chattels."²⁹

Roger's activity as canon of London and clericus is very obscure after 1329. A tantalizing reference in the Annals of London under date of 18 February, 1329, shows that one Henry le Palmere was arrested and put on trial at the Guildhall for having extracted twenty pounds from Sir Roger de Waltham. No circumstances are given, and the outcome is likewise left in doubt.³⁰ In the following year, Pope John XXII directed two briefs to Waltham from Avignon, both dealing with routine curial business: one to the effect that Roger should see to the payment of rents and revenues from the benefices of one John de Denton for a period of five years while the latter was engaged in the study of canon

²⁸Tout, op. cit., IV, 91.

²⁹Sharpe, op. cit., pp. 224-225. Cf. Tout, op. cit., II, 209 for a slightly scrambled version.

³⁰William Stubbs (ed.), "Annales Londonienses de Tempore Edwardi Tertii," Chronicles of Edward I and Edward II (London: Rolls Series, 1882), I, 246, ad diem 18 Feb., 1339.

law; the second was a concurrent mandate announcing the provision³¹ of a certain William de Stowe to a canonry at Wells, in plurality. Roger must have retained until this date, at least some importance in the eyes of the Avignon curia. It is a temptation to expatiate upon the sympathy which might have existed between that supreme bookkeeper and canonist, John XXII, and his fellow canonist, Roger de Waltham, bookkeeper to the king of England. The author of the Compendium Morale deplored avarice and preoccupation with the goods of this world, but at the same time, he exacted payment of borrowed money. Two cases of loans made by Sir Roger are listed on the Close Rolls. In one, a certain William de Eggescliffe acknowledged the very considerable debt of 9 pounds, 15 shillings, 8 pence to "Roger de Waltham, canon of St. Paul's, London. . . . , to be levied in default of payment, of his goods and chattels in the bishopric of Durham."³² The other case reveals what would have happened to William of Eggescliffe if he had failed to meet the obligation. Sometime in October or November of 1339, Roger delegated a clerk to prosecute the execution of a recognizance of twenty marks, made to him in chancery by Simon de Sheepeye, parson of Sudbury Church.³³ Fellow clerics were not spared.

It is much more pleasant to turn to Roger's work in establishing for the benefit of souls a chantry, which, incidentally, would aid in the beautifying of the cathedral church and likewise provide alms for the poor. As early as December, 1323, he had

³¹Cal. Papal. Reg., II, 305-11.

³²Cal. Close Rolls 1323-1327, p. 169, 22 March, 1324.

³³Cal. Close Rolls, 1339-1341, p. 275. Note the date, which, if the identification with the canon of London is correct, sets the terminus a quo of Roger's death two years later than Kingsford's date (1337), given in D.N.B., XVII, 112.

determined upon the creation of an endowment for pious purposes.³⁴ The exact nature of the endowment or of the uses to which it would be put had apparently not yet been determined. In the subsequent history of this foundation, the admirable records of medieval England demonstrate their value for historical synthesis as well as the thoroughness with which the lawyer-priest laid the bases of an infallible trust. The first step consisted in the acquisition of the messuage in "Olðfisshe" Street and of the shops of "Soperslane," mentioned above. Since property in London was held directly of the king, an inquisitio ad quod damnum was made by the sheriffs of London, which valued the properties at 8 pounds, 6 shillings, 8 pence yearly.³⁵ This was followed by the formal license from the king to alienate in mortmain, dated 16 August, 1325. The purpose of the endowment was stated:

. . . . to find a chaplain to celebrate divine service daily in the church of St. Paul for the souls of the said Roger, Anthony Beck, sometime patriarch of Jerusalem and bishop of Durham, and all the ancestors, relations, friends, and benefactors of the said Roger, and all the faithful departed, and for his obit after his death"³⁶

It is exasperating to notice the citation of ancestors and relatives without identification.³⁷ The formal deed which established

³⁴Cal. Pat. Rolls 1321-1324, p. 255, 3 December, 1323: "License for Roger de Waltham, king's clerk, to acquire lands and rents held in chief to the value of 12 pounds a year, and to assign the same in mortmain to religious persons, chaplains, or others, to celebrate divine service or to do other alms for his soul and the souls of his ancestors, benefactors, and the faithful departed."

³⁵Cal. Inquis. ad quod damnum, Old series (London, 1803), p. 283. Dated 19 Ed. II.

³⁶Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1324-1327, p. 162. The license mentions the previous permit to alienate and also the inquisition. The figures reported for the inq. ad quod dampn. are taken from this item in the patent roll.

³⁷There are so many places with the name Waltham that it is practically impossible to identify Roger's family from the place-name. The family of John de Waltham, bishop of Salisbury 1388-1395, has been partially worked out by A. Hamilton Thompson in the Yorkshire Archaeological Journal, XXV, 257-260; and by

the chantry likewise gives no specific data on Roger's family and ancestors. The deed was dated 27 October, 1325, and on the same day the tenements were turned over to the Dean and Chapter by a separate instrument. In the latter document, the Dean and Chapter bind themselves to the perpetual support of a chaplain, etc., as in the license above, with the additional specification of the "altar of St. John the Evangelist, on the south side of the said church" as the locus agendi; elaborate regulations for the conduct of the chantry were appended.³⁸ The second acquisition for the endowment was added in the next year, 1326, following exactly the

Tout, *op. cit.*, III, 215-216. This Waltham was a nephew of John Thoresby, archbishop of York 1352-1373. Thompson says that the surname Waltham indicates that he came from the northeast portion of Lincolnshire, near Great Grimsby, as in all probability Thoresby, whose Yorkshire origin is very disputable, did likewise; that the families of Waltham, Thoresby, and Ravenser were inter-related; that John de Waltham was possibly a relative of William de Melton, archbishop of York before Thoresby. Now Thoresby doubtless had some contact with Roger de Waltham, for he was a chancery clerk in Roger's lifetime, and became archdeacon of London in 1340. I might add that Sir Peter Thoresby, a beneficed clerk of Durham, was temporal chancellor of the Palatinate under Anthony Bek in 1289, and signed the Gategang charter on the next line after Roger (Cal. Charter Rolls, 1300-1326, p. 193). Many Thoresbys and Walthams appear subsequently in the royal service. I should like to make Roger a member of this group, but proof is lacking. The temporalities of the priory of Durham were committed to a Roger de Waltham, constabularius, in 1258 (Robert de Graystones, "Historia de statu ecclesiae Dunelmensis," in Historiae Dunelmensis Scriptores Tres, ed. James Raine, Surtees Society, IX [London, 1839], p. 41). There was a family of Walthams at Melton Mowbray, co. Leicester, which included a Roger de Waltham, a gentleman of some means, and evidently of some meanness also (Cal. Close Rolls, 1313-1318, pp. 78, 99; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1338-40, p. 366). The London records contain many Walthams, most of whom appear to be small householders.

³⁸For the deed, see Hist. MSS Comm. Rep., VIII, 633 A. Queen Anne's Bounty MS, No. 59. The grant is described *ibid.*, MS, No. 51. The latter is valuable because it specifies that Roger had the messuage in "Oldfisshe" Street by feoffment from Ralph de Wandlesworthe, citizen and cordwainer of London; and the three shops in "Sopereslane" from Robert le Callere. The list of witnesses included many well-known figures of contemporary London: Stephen Gravesend, bishop of London, Hamo de Chigwell, Mayor, John de Cotome and Robert de Mordone, sheriffs, Robert de Baldock, the chancellor of the realm, and, last of all, Henry de Braye, the scribe.

procedure of the first: Roger had secured the messuage near "Distaf" Lane; the sheriffs' inquest reported its value at five marks per annum;³⁹ the royal license to alienate in mortmain was duly issued.⁴⁰ On 3 October, 1326, the property was formally deeded to the Dean and Chapter. Provision was made for a second Chaplain, again to officiate at the altar of St. John the Evangelist, but the new chaplain was to celebrate, etc., "in the said church for the King and his parents," etc. Food was to be supplied for the poor.⁴¹ The king was not long in needing those prayers; and the poor could always eat.

Roger then supplied his two chaplains with special vestments of considerable magnificence for use at prescribed feasts,⁴² and sometime between 15 March, 1328 and 27 July, 1329 provided a new setting for the services. With the permission of the chapter, Waltham built a new altar to the honor of St. Lawrence "behind the upper part of their south choir." The gift of vestments, the new

³⁹Cal. Inq. ad quod damn., p. 285, 20 Ed. II, No. 25.

⁴⁰Cal. Pat. Rolls 1324-1327, p. 321, 23 September, 1326. The royal license to alienate is worded much as the previous license of August 16, 1325, but adds specifically to the other conditions: "to provide certain feedings (puturas) for the poor and other alms yearly." Copies of the royal licenses were carefully kept in the archives of St. Paul's. (Cf. Hist. MSS Comm. Rep.), IX, 45 A. St. Paul's MS A Box 59, Nos. 13, 22, 23.

⁴¹Hist. MSS Comm. Rep. VIII, 633 A. Queen Anne's Bounty MS, No. 32. The deed specifies that Roger had the messuage by feoffment from John Matefrey, citizen of London. There is no mention in the royal license that the chaplain was provided "for the king, etc."

⁴²Hist. MSS Comm. Rep., IX, 40 A. Bond of the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's for the observance of an ordinance of Roger de Waltham. The foundation of the chantry is recited, and the vestments donated are described as "unam capam chori et unam casulam cum alba, amicta, stola, et fanone, cum ymaginibus de auro et serico super samito rubeo brodiatis et bene in omnibus apparatus, et similiter unam tunicam cum dalmatica de panno serico subtili Radiato, ornatas circa oram manicharum cum platis argenteis deauratis et lapidibus insertis." These vestments were to be used on the anniversary of his obit, on the feasts of the Holy Cross, St. John Baptist, and St. Lawrence. Dated 15 March, 1328.

altar, and the changes effected in the tenements apparently made a complete restatement of the conditions and a recapitulation of the property grants necessary. A new deed was drawn up including these terms, to which was added a list of regulations for the conduct of the chantries.⁴³ To clinch the agreement, Roger secured an inspeximus and confirmation from Stephen Gravesend, the bishop of London.⁴⁴ With the last-named document the legal foundation was complete. A number of ordinances for the regulation of the chantries, payment of alms, etc., are still preserved in the archives of St. Paul's and elsewhere.⁴⁵ Sir William Dugdale employed these to document the elaborate description of the oratory of St. Lawrence in his History of St. Paul's.⁴⁶ Evidently Roger

⁴³Ibid., VIII, 633 B. Q.A.B. MS, No. 9. Note the following: "one messuage near the old fishery (piscarium) now containing two dwellings and three shops in Sopereslane, and secondly one messuage in Distaflane, lately built by the said Roger, containing ten mansions" The improvements obviously raised the value and the revenues of the property beyond the limit allowed by the royal license. The compotus of Adam de Eyston accounting for the revenues of the chantries (1368-1369) gave a total income of 14 pounds, 7 shillings, 8 pence (Hist. MSS Comm. Rep., VIII, 633 B, Q.A.B. MS, No. 70).

⁴⁴Ibid., Q.A.B. MS, No. 47.

⁴⁵Ibid., VIII, 633 B. Q.A.B. MS, No. 23; IX, 28 B, St. Paul's MS A Box 25, No. 1650; p. 54 B, St. Paul's MSS A Box 74. Nos. 1938, 1939.

⁴⁶William Dugdale, History of St. Paul's Cathedral, pp. 21, 22. ". . . . [R. de W.]. . . . out of his abundant piety founded a certain oratory on the south side of the Quire in this Cathedral, towards the upper end thereof, to the honor of God, our Lady, St. Lawrence, and All-Saints, and adorned it with the images of our Blessed Savior, St. John Baptist, St. Lawrence [*sic*], and St. Mary Magdalene, so likewise with the pictures of the celestial hierarchy, the joys of the Blessed Virgin, and others, both in the roof about the altar and other places within and without, in which oratory the chantry before mentioned was placed, and the said anniversary to be kept. And lastly, in the south wall opposite to the said oratory, erected a glorious tabernacle, which contained the image of the said Blessed Virgin, sitting as it were in childbed; and also our Savior in swaddling clothes, lying between the Ox and the Ass: and St. Joseph at her feet; above which was another image of her, standing with the child in her arms, etc., . . . in which oratory he designed that his sepulture should be."

had put a good deal of money into the fittings of his memorial. His obit was celebrated on the twelfth of October.⁴⁷

No serious effort has been made to trace the subsequent history of the foundation. It is clear, however, that Roger's trust attained a degree of permanence not usually accorded to the efforts of fallible man. As late as I Edward VI (1547-1548) the lands were producing revenues in excess of the needs of the chantries, alms, and other charges.⁴⁸ The logical terminus ad quem for the history of the chantry is the confiscation of the endowments during the reign of Edward VI. The physical equipment of the altar, etc., perished in the great fire of 1666.

C

To the income which Roger enjoyed from the benefices gained through Bek's patronage, from the stall at London, and from privately owned property, the revenues of at least two more important preferments were added, possibly as a reward for political services. On 17 April, 1323, the King presented him to the church of Hatfield, in the diocese of York, a benefice which he held until his death.⁴⁹ The second sinecure was the prebend of

⁴⁷Simpson, Documents, pp. 71, 98.

⁴⁸Dugdale, op. cit., pp. 382, 385. Ellis gives in the appendix to his edition of Dugdale the return of the chantries in St. Paul's made by the commissioners of Edward VI, 1 January, 1548. I have also found a citation of an obit payment ca. 1521/1522. (Cf. Hist. MSS Comm. Rep. on MSS in Various Collections, IV, 1907, p. 162, MSS of F. H. T. Jervoise at Herriard Park, Hampshire).

⁴⁹Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1321-1324, p. 282. By information of Robert Baldock. The advowson of the rectorate of Hatfield had been in the hands of the Warenne family since the middle of the 13th century. As a result of private warfare between John de Warenne and Thomas of Lancaster, the advowson passed into the possession of the latter along with grants of land, etc. Roger's predecessor, William de Tilbury, had been appointed by Thomas of Lancaster, 16 May, 1319. After the execution of Lancaster (1322), the manor of Hatfield fell to the crown. Lancaster's appointee had license for absence as late as 26 March, 1323 (Yorkshire Archeological Society, Record Series, Miscellanea, I, 137-157;

Saltmarsh in the church of St. Peter, Hoveden (Howden), likewise in the jurisdiction of York, to which Roger had been appointed sometime anterior to 26 August, 1323.⁵⁰ Hennessey states that Waltham was also rector of the church of Scrayingham, Yorkshire, having exchanged for it the rectorate of Mestham in Surrey.⁵¹ Further research in the local records would probably uncover materials which might enlarge the list of Roger's holdings or verify items advanced tentatively above. It is unlikely that anything would appear which would alter significantly the picture of

Fasti Parochialis, I, 132). Roger's presentation, therefore, can be interpreted as his share of the Lancaster loot. He had a patent of protection in 1324 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1324-1327, p. 62). Subsequently fines were remitted for non-residence and non-appearance at visitations, 26 March, 1328, repeated 9 February, 1333-1334, with order to the receiver not to molest and with license of absence for a year (Reg. Melton, ff. 172, 197 d). Again in 1331, license from the vicar general for absence was issued, with order against molestation (Ibid., ff. 584, 584 d). License for absence, 13 December, 1334, for a year as resident in St. Paul's, London (Ibid., fol. 199 d). The material from the Melton Register is repeated from the Fasti Parochialis, I, 132. In 1346 the advowson was turned over to Roche Abbey by John de Warenne, then holding the manor for life. The church at that time was valued at 70 marks per annum (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1345-1348, p. 16). The church had been assessed at 46 pounds, 13 shillings, 4 pence in Pope Nicholas' Taxation, 1291 (Fasti Parochialis, loc. cit.).

⁵⁰Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1321-1324, p. 341. Protection with clause nolumus for Roger de Waltham, clerk, for two years.

⁵¹Hennessey, Novum Repertorium, p. xxvii. No authorities are given, and I have been unable to verify the statement. It is possible, however, that Roger did hold lands in Surrey. An inquest over the estate of Juliana Romeyne held in June, 19 Edward II, lists "a capital messuage, a dovecote, 287 acres 1 rod arable, 19 acres 1 rod meadow, 100 pounds 8 shillings 4 pence rent of assize, a plot by Faukeshall, 14 shillings rent at the view of Faukeshall, etc., held of the Earl of Winchester by service of 10 pence yearly, of the archbishop of Canterbury by service of 7 shillings, and of Roger de Waltham by service of 18 pence yearly" (Cal. of Inquisitions, VI, 426). Further definition is given by a subsequent inquest and extent in 3 Edward III, of Stokwell Manor, Surrey, which gives the portions held of Elizabeth de Burgh, Lady of Faukeshalle, of the archbishop of Canterbury, and "three cottages held of Roger de Waltham by service of 18 pence yearly," obviously the same piece of property (Cal. Inq., VII, Edward III). There is no evidence to prove that this Roger de Waltham is the same person as the canon of London.

the comfortable pluralist who followed the mores of his time rather than the moralia of the Compendium.

D

The reign of Edward II provides little for the proponent of hero-worship in the writings of history. It is a period without great characters or great deeds. Neither the King and his curia nor the barons offer much from which to choose. Church and state alike were filled with small and mean figures. The deprecation formerly accorded to the reign has been modified and significantly tempered by the work of the late Professor Tout and Mr. Conway Davies upon the institutional aspects of the period. When neither strong personalities nor cataclysmic events impinge upon the state, the little, obscure people go about their work undisturbed, and the institutions which represent the corporate functions of the many assume greater importance. Tout and Davies have shown the importance of the reign as a period of transition and of reform in the institutions and techniques of administration, and of gradual change in the social composition of the government personnel. It is not my purpose either to spin an imaginative account of the potential rôle played by Waltham in the political history of his time, or to describe the institutions within which he functioned, but rather to collect the data which concern him as one of these obscure, almost characterless clerks, so that the material may be of service to subsequent students of institutions as well as to the immediate needs of biography.

Roger's most active period of participation in the political mêlée of the second Edward was centered in two years, 1322 and 1323; but the rôle he performed in these years indicates that he had already secured much experience in the technical aspects of government duties. The service under Anthony Bek doubtless

established the contact with the personnel of the royal administration.⁵² There is a long gap in the evidence between the relinquishment of the chancellorship at Durham and the assumption of the next official position. In February, 1322, Roger received an appointment "during pleasure" along with William de Herle, Adam de Brome, and John Charlton as receiver of fines for violations of the ordinance of the staple of 1313.⁵³ There is no indication here of the duration of the appointment or of Waltham's behavior while in office.⁵⁴ Within three months he had been named treasurer, or keeper (custos), of the king's wardrobe, one of the most

⁵²Bek himself had been a royal clerk as early as 1266 (Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1258-1266, pp. 553, 649) and later filled a gap as keeper of the wardrobe for Edward I in 1274. Bek's older brother Thomas was keeper of the wardrobe for six years (1274-1280) until he became bishop of St. David's and quit the royal service. Anthony's subsequent services for Edward I are well known (Cf. article Bek in D.N.B.; Tout, Chapters, II, 14). John de Benstead, secretary to Edward I, chancellor of the exchequer, 1305, keeper of the wardrobe, 1307-1308, justice of common pleas, 1309-1320, had a number of Durham benefices at the same time as Roger, including prebends at Auckland and Darlington (Fasti Dunelm., p. 18; Tout, Chapters, passim). Robert Baldock was canon of Chester-le-Street in 1311, canon of London by 1312 (Fasti Dunelm., p. 8). Roger signed the Vesci-Percy charter in company with Roger Scotter, Gilbert de Toutheby, and John de Insula, of whom the first two were noted lawyers, King's serjeants, and later judges, and the last was a baron of the exchequer, and a D.C.L. Roger's superior at St. Paul's, John de Everdon, was an exchequer officer of long standing from 1 Ed. II ff. Gilbert de Wigton, Gilbert Stapeldon, William Ayreminne, Robert Wodehouse were canons of Auckland during Roger's lifetime. Many other such cases could be cited.

⁵³Cal. Fine Rolls, 1319-1327, p. 101. 22 Feb., 1323. "Commission during pleasure to Wm. de Herle, Roger de Waltham, canon of St. Paul's, London, Adam de Brome; and John de Charleton, mayor of the merchants of wool and woolfells, to take to the king's use fines from all merchant's denizen and alien, etc. . . . and order them to receive such fines and to certify therof to the treasurer and barons of the exchequer."

⁵⁴John Charlton was mercer of London, representative of the city in the important York parliament of 1318, and was the mouthpiece of the London capitalists in their efforts to restrict the free markets of aliens and to fix the staples; Brome was a chancery clerk, well-known as the founder of Oriel College. For the history of the staple under Edward II see Tout, The Place of the Reign of Edward II in English History (Manchester, 1914), chap. vii, pp. 236-266, esp. pp. 257-9; Lipson, The Economic Hist. of Eng. (Macmillan: New York, 1929), I, 475-476.

important offices in the royal service. He succeeded Roger Northburgh, a veteran of the household staff and keeper of the wardrobe since 1316, upon the latter's provision to the see of Lichfield. Northburgh had been an able bureaucrat, but could in no way be compared in personal or political status with his predecessor, William Melton, who had advanced from the wardrobe to the see of York. Waltham similarly was insignificant when measured with Northburgh. The office, at least, under Waltham's successor was severely limited in the scope of its activities whatever the personal abilities of Wodehouse may have been. Tout explains the decline in significance as follows:

The insignificance of the personnel and the mediocrity of the work of the 'wardrobe of the household' in the period 1318-1326 show that the great instrument of Edward I's authority was no longer of vital account to kings or courtiers, and no longer a chief object of criticism and fear to the survivors of the baronial opposition.⁵⁵

But in the particular case of Roger de Waltham, another reason may be suggested.

The appointment of Waltham coincided in time with the complete triumph of the King and the Despensers, and of the brain behind them, Robert de Baldock, over the baronial opposition. Baldock had become keeper of the privy seal, and therefore head of one of the subordinate departments in the wardrobe, in January, 1320. In July of the same year he added another office, the controllership of the wardrobe. These offices he held jointly until July, 1323.⁵⁶ Between these two dates he steadily gained favor at the court. At the time when Roger was appointed receiver of fines, Baldock was to the King the "beloved clerk who is continually at

⁵⁵Tout, Chapters, II, 269.

⁵⁶Tout, ibid., p. 299.

our side,"⁵⁷ and his relations with the Despensers are notorious. It is curious that Waltham, as keeper, should be technically the superior of Baldock, at the time when the latter was probably the most influential man in the kingdom, but the situation becomes less anomalous when one considers that Baldock as controller could effectively block any final accounting on the part of his superior, and also, through the issues of the privy seal, could exert powerful influence on this important channel for the expression of the royal will at the expense of the chancery. The union of the two subordinate offices probably gave him the real, though indirect, control of the whole department. After the reforms which were imposed upon the wardrobe in 1323 had seriously restricted its importance, Baldock withdrew from his position (7 July). Next month he became chancellor, and therefore had no further need of or interest in the office of privy seal.⁵⁸ Roger remained keeper less than four months after the departure of Baldock. His short term of seventeen months is to be compared with the six years of Northburg and the four years of Wodehouse in the same position. The suspicion arises that Roger was simply an innocuous, respectable clerk who was placed in position as a front behind which Baldock could operate, and then retired into obscurity again when the need no longer existed. Whatever the reasons for his appointment were, the fact remains that he was treasurer or keeper of the wardrobe from 1 May, 1322 to 19 October, 1323.⁵⁹

⁵⁷Tout, ibid., quoting Foedera, II, 422, 25 Feb., 1322.

⁵⁸Tout, ibid., p. 303.

⁵⁹Cf. Brit. Mus. Stowe MS, No. 553, the book of accounts, for the dates. Cf. also A Descriptive Catalogue of the Latin MSS in the John Rylands Library at Manchester, ed. M. R. James, Vol. I, p. 234, No. 132, Holden's controllers book for the first year of Wodehouse's keepership, 20 October, 1323-7, July, 1324, for clinching the terminus ad quem.

As treasurer of the wardrobe, Roger was the colleague of the steward in exercising complete control over the whole household of the king. The two officers had to agree and take common action for every leave of absence from hall, for every writ of privilege or purveyance, for every small disciplinary measure. They presided over the daily account, for every head of a household department or office and everyone who had the obligation of receiving, using, and paying for supplies was brought before their jurisdiction. Roger's clerks had to account for items as diverse as the revenues from the king's stallions, the maintenance of castles, the keeping of the queen's jewels, the number of fish eaten by the domestics, the king's alms, the military supplies for the royal army, the payment for messenger service, etc. The treasurer, as a privileged individual, had his own chamber and chamberlain, allowances for the upkeep of himself and his clerks, and special fees for extraordinary services.⁶⁰ A number of enrolled documents attest to Roger's activity in his office, most of which concern the routine tasks of the position: wardrobe bills, payment of wages to various clerks and knights, arrayments of accounts, writs of aid for his subordinates, credits for supplies lost in the wars, notices of appearance before the exchequer, etc. Many of these documents are posterior to the term in office, representing adjustments or delayed accounting, extending down to January, 1334.⁶¹

⁶⁰Tout, Chapters, II, *passim*, particularly pp. 253-4; cf. also Hist. MSS Comm. Rep., VIII, Appendix, part 111, p. 16B-17A, No. 20, for description of the divisions of Roger's account book.

⁶¹C. Davies, Baronial Opposition, pp. 197-8, 281, 240; Ancient Correspondence, Vol. XXXII, No. 76; Cal. Close Rolls, 1318-1323, pp. 626, 634; ibid., 1323-1327, pp. 8, 53, 86-7, 93, 212 (2), 431; ibid., 1327-1330, p. 34; ibid., 1330-1333, pp. 68, 216, 226, 383, 390; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1321-1324, pp. 288, 295; ibid., 1327-1330, p. 131.

During Waltham's tenure of the keepership reforms were carried through both in the exchequer and in the wardrobe, but the part he performed in the planning and negotiating of the changes is very obscure.⁶² Probably the initiative for the specific reforms of 1323 came from Bishop Stapeldon, the head of the exchequer, who as early as July, 1322, had taken steps toward the concentration of the royal revenues and expenditures in that office. Both the wardrobe and the chamber had won partial freedom from exchequer control through the acquisition of independent sources of revenue, the so-called "foreign accounts." Forty-one per cent of Roger's revenue had come from these outside sources. This system was very useful to a king desiring freedom from the red tape of a baronially controlled exchequer, but now that the king and the curia were in the saddle (1323), it became much less important. The handling of the "foreign" revenue had added to the bulk and complexity of the already over-burdened household accounts, so that speedy discharge of business and balancing of books were impossible, and excessive duplication of financial machinery had resulted. Waltham was in the north of England, in the neighborhood of York, while the reforms were being legislated. On 30 May, 1323, he was at Bishopsthorp as a member of the royal council which met with Edward II to discuss a truce with Scotland. The leading exchequer and household officials were present as well.⁶³ The first ordinance for the reform of the exchequer was

⁶²Tout gives Roger some credit for helping with the general reform of the household: "The credit for the amelioration of the household is to be divided among many, among whom Badlesmere and the younger Despenser, Archbishop Melton, and the two keepers, Northburgh and Waltham, and the controller, Robert Baldock, must certainly be included (The Place of Edward II, p. 159).

⁶³J. C. Davies, Baronial Opposition to Edward II (Cambridge: University Press, 1918), pp. 291-2; cf. Appendix No. 94 for a list of those present at the council, including Melton, Stapeldon, Norwich, Belers (the leading figures of the exchequer),

issued on the fourteenth of June at Cowick, and before the end of the month, probably between 26-31 June, the ordinance for the "estate of the wardrobe and the account of the hostel" was signed at York. Tout states that the wardrobe ordinance was little more than a detailed working out of the new method of handling the household accounts which had been determined at Cowick; that both of the ordinances were the acts of the exchequer officials; that the reforms, therefore, were imposed upon the wardrobe from an external and unsympathetic standpoint.⁶⁴ Although the members of the administrative staff could cut each others' throats cheerfully upon occasion, this particular transaction has the appearance of villainy agreed upon by the whole corps. Waltham was on--or at least near to--the scene of action; otherwise his rôle is unknown. His department came out with its "foreign" revenue sharply cut, and the sphere of its operations much limited.

In volume of business, at least, the administration of the wardrobe reached the all-time high under Waltham's term. Between 1 May, 1322 and 19 October, 1323 the receipts of the wardrobe amounted to 76,971 pounds of which 31,565 pounds came from the foreign receipts, and only 45,405 pounds from the exchequer.⁶⁵

Baldock, Ayremynne, Brome, Toutheby and others.

⁶⁴Tout, Chapters, II, 259-60. The councillors who signed the wardrobe ordinance were Melton, Stapeldon, Norwich, Belers, and "other barons of the exchequer."

⁶⁵Tout, Chapters, II, 275. Compare with the figures of Roger's contemporary keepers.

Period	Receipt from Exch.	Foreign Receipt	Total	Issues, Mises
Northburgh				
1318-1319	24,539	4,974	29,514	29,872
1319-1320	43,177	7,610	50,787	48,795
1320-1321	26,982	2,674	29,656	15,343
1321-1322	39,958	17,530	57,488	45,949
(to 30 April)				
Waltham				
1 May 1322-				

(Continued)

The volume of business and the complexity of the accounts delayed Roger's bookkeeping some years. But delay was no new story. Benstead's accounts for 1 Edward II were presented to the exchequer by his executors, fifteen years later; Warley died before his came in; Northburgh's accounts for 1316-1322 were delivered in 1331.⁶⁶ Roger, however, had an alibi which the others lacked. When summoned to produce his final account before the treasurer and barons of the exchequer, 3 November, 1327, he pointed out that the books were at the Guildhall, that he had been unable to get at them, and that, without the records, the arraying of his final accounts was impossible.⁶⁷ On his second appearance, 25 February, 1328, although the books had been given over to him, he asserted that he had not had time to finish his accounts. He was thereupon given an extension until the first of July. Subsequently a writ of privy seal to the barons ordered them to hear the account when delivered and to allow Waltham expenses for the arrayment.⁶⁸ But Roger failed to appear on the date prescribed. The exchequer then ordered the sheriffs of London to distrain him and requested the Bishop of London to confiscate his ecclesiastical property.⁶⁹ In spite of the pressure, Roger did not present the accounts until

19 Oct. 1323	45,405	31,565	76,971	ca. 82,471
Wodehouse				

(20th Oct., 1323-

7 July, 1324)	1,666	2,045	3,711	-- ---
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The variation from mathematically correct summations is the result of the omission of shillings, etc., from the table, as compiled from Tout, op.cit., II, 275-6.

⁶⁶Tout, Chapters, II, 278-9; IV, 90 ff.

⁶⁷Tout, ibid., IV, 91. Cf. account of Roger's books supra.

⁶⁸Ibid., p. 91. Writ of 1 May, 1328, from M. R. K. R. 104/75.

⁶⁹Ibid., p. 91. From M. R. K. R. 104 "adhuc recorda," m. 110.

22 May, 1329.⁷⁰ Even then the exchequer refused to discharge Roger's responsibility, but clung to its pedantic hair-splitting. The counter roll was presented by John de Medburn, the deputy of Baldock and Wodehouse during Waltham's term, but the exchequer refused to recognize his credentials as deputy controller until Wodehouse had been formally examined, the evidence recorded, and the claim substantiated.⁷¹ Two years after the account was in,

⁷⁰Perhaps the peremptory order from the King, 8 March, 1329, for Roger to appear before him for "colloquy" had something to do with speeding up the accounting (Cal. Close Rolls, 1327-1330, p. 531). There is also some confusion as to the exact date for the delivery of the accounts. Tout gives 2 May, 1329 (Chapters, II, 279, note 6), but the signature of the book of accounts itself gives 22 May (Catalogue of the Stowe MSS in the British Museum, London, 1895, MS 553, Vol. 6: "Hunc librum liberavit ad scaccarium hic Rogerus de Waltham nuper custos garderobe regis E. fil. Reg. E. per manus suas proprias, xxij die Maii anno tertio Regis E. tertii a conquestu). A report on Stowe 553 while it was still in the Ashburnham collection gave the date as "xxv die Maii," an easy misreading for xxij (Hist. MSS Comm. Rep., VIII, Appendix, pt. iii, pp. 16B-17A). Roger delivered his rotulus expensarum hospicii on 22 May, 1329 (Brit. Mus. MS, Add 36, 763; Tout, *ibid.*). Plummer says that in MSS Dodsworth, Vol. XXV, fol. 112, there are some transcripts from the book of accounts in the keeping of the King's Remembrancer . . . and in a memorandum on the same page it is stated that this account was delivered at the Exchequer by Roger de Waltham in person on May 22, 3 Edward III (Fortescue, *Governance of England*, ed. Plummer [Oxford, 1885], p. 174.) Cf. Bernard: *Catalogi MSS Angliae et Hiberniae* (Oxon, 1697), No. 177, p. 201, for the full note. Obviously the 22nd of May was the date.

The wardrobe book, Stowe 553, has had an interesting history. It belonged in turn to Sir Edward Simpson, Dean of Arches (d. 1764), to Joseph Edmundson, Mowbray Herald (d. 1786), and to Thomas Astle, the antiquarian (d. 1803). On Astle's death, his library went to the Marquis of Buckingham and became the nucleus of the famous collection at Stowe. In 1849 Bertram Ashburnham, the famous collector, bought the Stowe library from the Duke of Buckingham. In 1883, however, six years after the death of Bertram Ashburnham, the British Government bought the Stowe collection for 45,000 pounds (Ashburnham had paid only 8,000 pounds for it). The wardrobe book went along with the rest of the Stowe MSS, and was deposited in the British Museum. It was exhibited proudly in the year of its acquisition (*Catalogue of a Selection from the Stowe Manuscripts Exhibited in the King's Library in the British Museum*, London, 1883, historical MS, No. 1), and was subsequently catalogued as No. 553. Tout and Davies drew much from this MS for their works. It is to be regretted that the history of the Chicago MS of the *Compendium* is so much less certain.

⁷¹Tout, Chapters, IV, 92. The Medburn episode is taken from M.R.K.R. 105/153, transcribed *loc. cit.*, note 1: ". . . . De

the exchequer was still plaguing Roger for sums owed on his accounts. He then "besought the king to provide a remedy for his and the king's indemnity," and the king ordered that "Roger shall not be charged with any payments or allowances made to any persons upon the surplus of his account."⁷² With the royal mandate before them, the treasurer and barons of the exchequer left Roger in peace. He probably breathed a sigh of relief to be clear of the whole business.

E

In addition to the cares and tribulations of the royal wardrobe, it is possible that Waltham also assumed the burdens--and the emoluments--of the custody of rebels' lands in Staffordshire, 1322-1324. The identification of the Roger de Waltham who was keeper (custos) of the "contrariants" lands with the canon of St. Paul's is based upon very flimsy evidence, because (1) the calendared documents, at least, lack descriptive epithets (other than Custos) which would make the attribution trustworthy; and (2) the relative unimportance of the post would have opened it to the host of minor Walthams with the same name. On the other hand the common practise of plurality in offices and of the performance

contrarotulis garderobe de tempore Rogeri de Waltham admissis. Memorandum quod cum Rogerus de Waltham, nuper custos garderobe Regis Edwardi patris nunc habuisset diem hic modo in crastino Ascensionis Domini (2 June, 1329) ad computandum de garderobe predicta, et liberasset libros de particulis compoti sui de tempore quo fuit custos garderobe predictae videlicet a primo die Maii, anno xv (1322) dicti regis Edwardi patris usque xix diem Octobris, anno regni ejusdem regis Edwardi patris xvi [note: someone is wrong here, either the scribe or the modern transcriber, for the regnal year of Edward II began on 8 July, and therefore the figure would be xvii, as in all other documents dealing with this term of office. W.P.H.], etc."

⁷²Cal. Close Rolls, 1330-1333, pp. 213-214. This long mandate describes the method of handling the accounts which have not yet been paid. Of course, Edward III in 1331 did not have time to consider such business personally; the mandate is "by council."

of such multiple duties through deputies makes the identity of the two Rogers not at all improbable. The presence of Walter de Waldeshef, an old employee of the royal household, as colleague, and the coincidence in time with the period of Waltham's maximum political activity strengthen the probability. The canon's familiar unwillingness to live on peas and pulse would not have turned him away from an opportunity to earn an honest penny in the management of rich baronies for the nonchalant Edward. The identification, however, must remain hypothetical until new material or sharper logic can be brought to bear upon the problem.

In any case, a mandate to a Roger de Waltham to make extents of castles, manors, towns, etc., of rebels in Stafford was issued 18 May, 1322, by the King and council of York.⁷³ Three days later the formal commitment "during pleasure" of the aforementioned lands was issued, with the exception of the lands, etc., of the late Thomas of Lancaster. It is interesting to note that the accounting for the revenues from these lands was to be made to the chamber, not to the exchequer.⁷⁴ An order followed on 4 July to survey the lands, and to demise them at farm to responsible persons for a three year period; again the accounting was to be done with the chamber. Walter de Waldeshef was named surveyor, to work with the custodian, Waltham.⁷⁵ Immediately afterwards a series of mandates was sent out, giving specific instructions for the disposition of the confiscated property of which the most important portion was made up of the lands of Alice of Lancaster

⁷³Cal. Patent Rolls, 1321-1324, p. 161.

⁷⁴Cal. Fine Rol's, 1319-1327, pp. 130-131.

⁷⁵Cal. Fine Rolls, 1319-1327, p. 130. Cf. Davies, Baronial Opposition, p. 166. Waldeshef was the King's butler as early as 1310.

and of Joan de Lacy.⁷⁶ Toward the end of July, however, Edward II needed much ready money for his projected war with Scotland, and the exchequer made use of the exigency to recover control over the income from forfeitures. Wholesale orders went out from Thirsk and York, 21-25 July, which transferred the accounts of the keepers of rebels' lands to the exchequer, and nullified the best opportunity in generations to create a vast, independent domain for the king.⁷⁷ Waltham was included along with the other keepers, to whom the orders were issued. After July 1323, a few scattered notices reveal him performing the duties of his post.⁷⁸ He was certainly out of office by March, 1324.⁷⁹

In the Compendium, Waltham gave much ink and as much thought as he could spare to the contemplation of death; again and again he reverted to the cogitation,—through the words of others,—upon the worms, which were waiting greedily for every living man, both great and small. He had lived through civil wars and invasions, had been near to violent death, and in quiet times there had always been the cemetery of St. Paul's, to keep his attention fresh. It is unfortunate that he could not incorporate the circumstances and the date of his own death into his writings; it doubtless would have pleased him, and would have saved us much conjecture. The lack of precise information compels us to place the date of death between the years 1339 and 1341. The close

⁷⁶Cal. Close Rolls, 1318-1323, p. 578; Cal. Pat. Rolls, 1321-1324, pp. 572, 576 (2).

⁷⁷Cal. Fine Rolls, 1319-1327, pp. 148, 151, 173. For evaluations of the Thirsk and York ordinances see Tout, Chapters, II, 340-1.

⁷⁸Cal. Close Rolls, 1318-1323, pp. 593, 601; Cal. Fine Rolls, 1319-1327, p. 191; Cal. Inquis. Misc. 1307-1349, p. 150, No. 600; p. 145, No. 575; Cal. Inquis. post mortem, VI, No. 378.

⁷⁹Cal. Close Rolls, 1323-1327, p. 79.

grouping of the regrants to his northern benefices within a period of ten days (20-30 October, 1341), in both the diocese of Durham and of York, points to the early fall of that year as the probable time of his demise.⁸⁰

The place of burial is unknown. Dugdale thought that Roger's wish to have his bones laid to rest in St. Paul's had been fulfilled, "though no known Monument over them hath been in our time remaining."⁸¹

The explicit of the Compendium might serve as an epitaph for Roger ". . . qu' simplici operi suo hic concludens cum Ovidio libro de Ponto ait:

Leta quidem letus cecini, cano tristia tristis
conueniens operi tempus utrumque suo (est),
sic Deo et Beate Virgini se commendans. . . ."⁸²

⁸⁰Reg. Pal. Dun., III, 410: Robert Gernoun to East Marie, Auckland, 20, October, 1341; ibid., p.411: William de Kildesby to the prebend of Sakynton, Darlington, 20 October, 1341; ibid., p. 411: William de Hemington to Chester-le-Street, 23 October, 1341; Fasti Paroch., p. 132: John Mauduyt to the rectorate of Hatfield, 30 October, 1341. For the terminus a quo, see supra, note 33.

⁸¹Dugdale, History of St. Paul's, p. 33.

⁸²Compendium Morale, fol. 217V. Ovid, Ex Ponto, III, ix, 35-36. This explicit, incidentally, is especially appropriate for Roger, because, although he cited the correct opus of Ovid, he substituted quidem for fere and omitted the last word, est, true to his literary butchery to the bitter end.

THE LITERARY SOURCES OF THE COMPENDIUM MORALE

The reputation for erudition which Roger de Waltham enjoyed in the waning middle ages was far greater than in subsequent times. His one notable production, the Compendium Morale, was multiplied in a number of copies and widely scattered throughout England. Leland, the antiquarian, included Waltham among the scriptores of Britain, and devoted a brief section of his Commentaries to the canon and his works. Leland says that Roger liked nothing better than mulling over the works of ancient writers, and that his study was profitable, bringing him immediate and lasting praise: that from the charming meadows of the authors of antiquity Waltham gathered a rich and abundant harvest which he brought together in the Compendium Morale, a work on memorable sayings and deeds, and this work was subsequently disseminated in many copies.¹ When the rhetoric is pared away, one can readily see that there is little real information conveyed in Leland's article: his statements could have been made on the basis of the number and distribution of copies of the Compendium observed on his travels, and from a cursory inspection of the contents of some one of these manuscripts. Except for the fact that Leland deemed the canon worthy of inclusion in his catalogue of British writers, he may

¹John Leland, Commentarii de Scriptoribus Britannicis (Oxford, 1709), chap. cexliiii, pp. 264-265. "Rogerius de Vallo-thamensis fani Pauli quod Londini celeberrimum est, canonicus, nihil prius habuit quam assidue veterum scriptorum monumenta contrectare sed tanto cum fructu ut laudem inde abunde magnam non modo sibi comparaverit sed partem retinuerit. . . .congesta supellectile tum copiosa tum divite. Ex amoenis antiquorum auctorum campis, compendium morale, opus de memorabilibus dictis et factis in volumen concinnavit, quod postea in multa transfusum exemplaria."

be ignored. Three other products of Roger's pen should be included in a conspectus of his writings. Leland mentions (loc. cit.) that there was at St. Paul's a little book (libellum) De imaginibus et picturis oratorii which was highly regarded there. The book apparently has been lost, for it is not listed in the Historical Manuscripts Commission's report on the documents of the cathedral. The title suggests that it dealt with the equipment and symbolism of Waltham's chapel, or some other oratory. If this be true, the loss is not serious. The other two compositions are the book of wardrobe accounts, Stowe 553, and a list of the pittances of St. Paul's, neither of which could possess literary significance.²

Waltham's reputation, therefore, as a literary figure must depend upon the Compendium Morale. An analysis of that reputation must be precluded by an identification and examination of the "charming fields" from which Roger gathered his harvest and by a survey of the multa exemplaria of the work itself. For convenience the detailed information on the various manuscripts has been relegated to the notes. There are notices of twelve extant manuscripts of the Compendium in modern libraries, and traces of two others which have been lost.³ The distribution of

²On Stowe 553 see supra under biography. The list of pittances is mentioned in Hist. MSS Comm. Rep., IX, 69A. MSS of Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's, vol. MS WD5, ff. 56 et seq.

³The following list of manuscripts has been compiled from the catalogues of English libraries. The detailed description of each manuscript has been deferred until complete information can be secured through direct examination of the MSS. The old catalogues are deficient in much desired information, such as dates and descriptions of the hands; the new catalogues are incomplete for many collections. The list, however, does indicate that the number of extant copies is greater than Plummer or Kingsford suspected:

1. Brit. Museum Royal MS 7Evii, vellum: folia 183, 13 1/2 x 9 1/2 in.: saec XV, early: owned by John (Lord) Lumley: catalogued: Lumley cat., fol. 114: cat. of 1666, f. 6B: Bernard, Cat. MSS, Angliae etc. (Oxon, 1697), No.

the former owners reveals that the book circulated over most of England, from London to Durham.

The Compendium Morale is a collection of excerpts, both

- 8052 (p. 242). Incipit and explicit approx. as in Chicago MS.
2. Brit. Museum Royal MS, 8 G vi, vellum, folia 200, saec. XV, owned by Tattershall College, co. Lincoln: catalogued: cat. of 1666, f. 5B; Bernard C.M.A., Nos. 8052-8055: Compendium occupies folia 1-142. Incipit and explicit ca. as above.
3. Brit. Museum Cotton, Vespasian B xxi, parchment, folia 252, n.d., large quarto. catalogued: J. Planta: Cat. of MSS in the Cottonian Library (London: Hansard, 1802), p. 442. Note appended to Chicago MS declares that Sir John Fortescue used this MS for his Governance of England: I have been unable to verify this.
4. Oxford, Merton College MS 265, parchment quarto, folia 112, saec. XV, ex dono M. Thomas Bloxham: catalogued: H.O. Coxe, Cat. cod. MSS qui in collegiis aulisque Oxon. hodie adservantur (Oxon: Univ. Press, 1852), Vol. I, Merton, p. 104: incomplete, explicit ca. beginning of bk. viii.
5. Oxford, Balliol College MS 261, parchment, small folio, folia 209, saec. XV: ex dono M. Robert Thwaite: catalogued: Coxe, ibid., Balliol, p. 87: incipit and explicit ca. same as Chicago MS. Subscription: scriptus est liber iste per manus Johannis Reynboldi de Monte Ornato terre Hassie Theutonicum.
6. Oxford, Bodleian, Laud. Misc. 876 (616), saec. XV, double columns, owned by the Benedictines of Oxford, and by Joseph Maynard, Oxon., "well-written": used by Plummer in his edition of Fortescue's Governance (see p. 173, notes to chap. 1): catalogued: H. Coxe, Cat. cod. MSS bibl. Bodl., Vol. II, Lat. Laudiani (Oxon, 1858), Cols. 443-444: Bernard, C.M.A., No. 876. Cf. Falconer Madan: A Summary Catalogue of Western MSS in the Bodleian Library at Oxford (Oxon, 1922), Vol. II, No. 876 (D. 109) 2228- Cox, II, Laud. Misc. No. 616. Contains table of contents by Thomas Grant. Incipit and explicit ca. as in Chicago MS.
7. Oxford, Bodleian Library MS 2664: Bernard, C.M.A. 2664-65 (unable to verify the Coxe catalogue re this MS) Cf. Plummer's note to his edition of Fortescue's Governance, p. 173.
8. Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 253: vellum, folia 176-9, 10 3/10 x 7 1/2, 41 ll, saec. xv, ex dono Robert Sherborne: catalogued: M. R. James, Desc. Cat. Pemb. Col., p. 227-9.
9. Cambridge, Pembroke College MS 254: vellum: folia 205 + 2: 11 1/5 x 7 1/5 in.: 39 ll: saec. xv: Ex dono William Smart, 1599, probably plunder from Bury St. Edmund's., op. cit., pp. 228-9: Bernard, C.M.A. no. 2045 (indexed to Roger Walden): cf. H. Schenkl, B.P.L., No. 2531. Noted by John Bale (Index Britanniae Scriptorum, eds. R. L. Poole and Mary Bateson [Oxon, 1902], p. 405). Gap of 3 folia after folium 49.
10. Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College MS ²⁹⁴/₆₈₈: vellum,

direct, literal borrowings and abridgments, from a wide range of authors. There is little original material in the work apart from the connective tissue between the innumerable citations. A

- folia 154+1, 13 3/4 x 9 1/2 in., double columns of 49 lines, several hands: catalogued Bernard, C.M.A. No. 816: ff. Smith, Cat. of MSS in the Lib. of Gonville and Caius College (Cambridge, 1849), No. 294, p. 147: M. R. James: Desc. Cat. of MSS in Lib. of Gonville and Caius College (Cambridge: University Press, 1907-08), Vol. I, p. 342: cf. H. Schenkl, B.P.L., Nos. 2717, 2809. Incipit and explicit as in Chicago MS.
11. Durham, Cathedral Library MS B III 24: bound with Aegidius Colonna, De regimine and a short tract on the office of the emperor: Compendium occupies folia 111-207, formerly belonged to monks of Durham Priory; incipit and explicit as in Chicago MS: catalogued: Thomas Rud, Codices Manuscripti Ecclesiae Dunelmenses (Durham: Humble, 1825).
 12. University of Chicago MS, No. B765. R63C8.14-. Parchment, 2 IX 29.3 cm., 222 fols. The portion of the MS comprising the Compendium Morale (fols. 16R-217V) was written ca. 1350-1400, single column, 12.4 x 19.2 cm., in square-lettered book hand; additions written about the end of the 15th c.; casual notes in Elizabethan hands; decorated with initials in gold, blue, and red (fols. 16 R, 18 R, 26 V, 40 V, 49 R, 76 V, 83 R, 101 R, 116 V, 128 V, 137 R, 193 V). Rubrics, marginal notes, and underlining are in red, by the same hand as the body of the text, with many incidental letters touched with red, yellow, blue, and green. The present binding is 18th c. calf, blind tooled, gilt edge, back now lost; book plate from the Earl of Ashburnham's library. The MS was trimmed at the time of binding with the resultant mutilation of the running titles.
Collation:--fols. 1-6 comprise one ternion, ruled for two columns, R. and V. of each folium in pen and ink; fols. 7-15, single leaf plus one quaternion (5+4); fols. 16-63, quaternions; fols. 64-70, a single leaf with one ternion (4+3). The remainder of the MS is in quaternions. There is no regularity throughout in the placing of Fs-Hs. The quaternions have catch words at bottom of the last fol. V, and are numbered; some numbers have been lost in trimming.
Owners:--Among the former owners of the manuscript are John Younger, otherwise unknown, whose statement of ownership is inscribed on fol. 2 R; Sir William Betham (1779-1853), the Irish antiquarian and genealogist; and Bertram, Lord Ashburnham (1797-1878), the great collector. Parts of Betham's library were sold to the Royal Irish Academy in 1850, and the heraldic and genealogical portions were sold through Sotheby and Wilkinson in 1860. The manuscript of the Compendium, however, was in the possession of Lord Ashburnham by 1854, and was catalogued as Add. No. 168. It escaped the sales of 1883, and was recatalogued as Appendix CII before the book plate was affixed in 1897. The MS was presented to the Library of the University of Chicago by a committee

scholar equipped with an adequate index could reconstruct almost the entire work from Migne's Patrologia and the Teubner series of classic authors. The study of the sources used by Waltham is

of the alumni on the occasion of the 128th Convocation, 20 March, 1923

Contents:--Fol. 1 R. A charm for cattle, written in a 15th c. hand. Inc. Per crucis hoc signum fugiat ars inimica. Expl. Aspergatur cum aqua benedicta etc. Below, in faded black ink: "Richard Higgins was married the v of Februari in the yere 1601 he sold the lands in the over feild the saturday before."

Fol. IV. Six neat notes of the type "John Guatkins viij ad lammes" with the date 1530 in faded, reddish brown ink. Below, a prayer for Francis Baskerville, written in a hand of much later date, probably of the 18th c., signed "John."

Fol. 2 R. Top margin, two notes in the same hand as the six on fol. IV;--"Jhon [sic] Younger is the owner of this booke." "Elizabeth Guatkins was baptized y^e V of August anno 1530."

Fols. 2 R - 7 V. Constitutions of George, Archbishop of York at the provincial synod of York, 26 April, 1466, together with the constitutions of Cardinal John of St. Balbina, his predecessor; written in a late 15th c. hand, two columns.

Fols. 8 R - 15 V. Index to the Compendium Morale, in same hand as the text, with rubric references.

Fol. 16 R. "Prologus in Compendium Morale, De virtuosis dictis et factis exemplaribus antiquorum Regum Principum et Philosophorum." Incipit: "Sapientiam antiquorum exquiret sapiens. . . ." Text follows to fol. 217 V.

Fol. 217 V. Explicit: "Sic deo et beate virgini se commendans. Finito libro sit laus et gloria Christo. Amen."

Fols. 218 R - 220 V. An index of subjects with rubric references.

Fols. 221 R - 222 V. An index of proper names with rubric references.

Fol. 222 V. The Apostles Creed and two notes of names omitted from index.

13. Durham, Bishop Cosin's Library MS 7.1 (Lost). See Catalogi Veteres Librorum Ecclesiae Cathedralis Dunelmensis, Surtees Society, Vol. VII (1838), pp. B7-8, Appendix xvi,--catalogue of the library founded by Bishop Cosin upon the Palace Green in Durham. The volume lacked the prologue, had incipit: Descriptio reipublicae et quales ei praefici debeant, est Respublica secundum Plutarchum. The MS had doubtless been owned by Rev. George Davenport, first keeper of Cosin Library who donated 70 MSS--almost the entire MSS fund:--to the library. Internal evidence shows the catalogue of the library to have been drawn up by Thomas Rud (+1732) cf. op. cit., introduction, p. xviii. Perhaps Kingsford had this copy in mind when he wrote that "There was anciently a copy at

valuable, for it enables one to calculate the apparatus available for one type, at least, of scholarship in the early fourteenth century. Moreover, the selections chosen reveal by implication the character of the compiler and the education which shaped that character. Furthermore, the evaluation of the document as a medium for the transmission of ideas demands as prerequisite the identification and tabulation of authors and works excerpted before an attack is made upon the knotty problem of determining the uses to which the opus was put by subsequent scholars. The task of analysis in connection with a text of this magnitude presents many difficulties, and raises questions which appear to be insoluble.

One of the major obstacles in the path of the Quellenforscher in medieval literature is the fact that there were nearly as many short-cuts to the parade of erudition in the high middle ages as there are to-day, and these short-cuts were used as freely. Collections of excerpts were widely current: handbooks of pat quotations, proverbs, poetry, and of selections from revered authors were available in abundance. The canon law itself is an almost inexhaustible mine of historical and patristic material. Neither the compilers nor the users of these compendia were meticulously careful of the accuracy of citation or of transcription. Now Roger obviously employed such collections to pad his own compendium, and both he and subsequent transcribers of his work multiplied the errors of their predecessors. But Waltham's independent reading from originals must have been wide if not critical. The range of authors cited and the bulk of the citations have made

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- Durham." (D.N.B., XVII, 113).
14. London, St. Paul's Cathedral Library (?). Bale mentioned a copy of the Compendium in St. Paul's Cathedral Library (Index Brit. Script. p. 404), but I have found no trace of this MS.

it impossible in the time available to carry the analysis to approximate completion, but even at this stage of the study some indication of the technique and extent of Waltham's reading can be laid down. I shall treat the classical Latin authors first, relegating the scriptural, patristic and legal materials to another section. Since Waltham obviously knew no Greek, the episodes from Greek literature and history have been listed with the classical Latin. Where possible, I have endeavored to indicate in the notes intermediate authors from whom Waltham may reasonably have borrowed his material. Absolute categories, of course, are impossible, but cross references attached to the citations in the notes will obviate this difficulty in some measure.

The earliest Latin author cited is Ennius, whose memorable phrase, Moribus antiquis res stat Romana virisque, Roger probably derived from Augustine's De civitate dei.⁴ Plautus is acknowledged as the source of three brief quotations, of which one is definitely an erroneous attribution and the other two have so far escaped identification.⁵ Terence contributed three bits which are all genuine, but which have been twisted out of shape through transmission.⁶ The three authors mentioned above probably came to the Compendium by way of some intermediary author or compendium.

In the case of the Latin authors of the last century of the republic and of the Empire, a very different picture is presented. Roger drew heavily upon Sallust and Cicero, to a less degree upon Vergil, Horace and Ovid. The abundance and accuracy

⁴Ennius Annales, XV,vB. Enni Carmina, ed. Lucian Müller (Petropoli, 1884), I, 425; and Augustine De civitate dei II, xxi, II, 1 ff. (C.S.S.E.L. ed., I, 91): Compendium Morale, fol. 57V.

⁵Compendium, fols. 102 V, 165R, 175V. The latter is a confusion for Panaetius, cf. Seneca, Ep. 116.

⁶Terence, Eunuchus 788: fol. 75R. Phedrone (-Phormio) 41: 165 R. Andria 67-68: fol. 166 R.

of the Sallust materials lead one to believe that Waltham had first hand knowledge of this author. There are nine extracts attributed to the Jugurtha, eleven to the Catiline: but even here many of the references could have come through readily accessible intermediaries, and dogmatism would be exceedingly dangerous.⁷

⁷Sallust

De bello Jugurthino iii. 3 : 192V

viii. 1 : 164R

x. 4 : 171R. cf. Cicero Phil. ii. 42.

x. 6 : 52V, 54V. cf. Seneca Ep. 94, sec. 46.

xxxi.15 : 169V. cf. J. Salisbury Polieraticus, ed. Webb, I, 211.

xxxv.10 : 165R. cf. 164R supra: "Rome omnia venalia sunt...." cf. Orosius Adv. paga- nos v, 15. Juvenal also has the same idea in Sat. XIV, 218. Roger may have been reminded to include this by Polieraticus, I, 218.

lv. 3 : 74V.

75V. I have been unable to locate this reference.

i. 1 : 177R. cf. Seneca Ep. 60.

De conjuratione Cat.

ii. 7 : 74V. cf. Sallust Cat.

xxiii, 2.

vii. 2 : 173V. cf. Aristotle, Politics, V, xi, 3.

x. 4 : 162R. cf. Compendium 165R.

xiv. 4 : 65V.

xx. 4 : 171R. cf. Seneca Ep. 20, 5; Ep. 109, 16; De ira III, 34, 2, and Polieraticus I, 179.

lii.11 : 75V.

lii.19-

23 : 58R. cf. Augustine De civ. dei V, 12-13; Polieraticus II, 245.

67V, 80V (2). On 80V is a story of Regulus keeping faith with the Carthaginians which is probably a paraphrase of the Regulus story given in Cicero De officiis (Q.V.)

On fol. 76R is a story of the methods employed by Pompey in training troops, attributed to Sallust but actually from Vegetius Epit. de re milit. I, 9, perhaps through Polieraticus VI, iv, 11 18 ff.

The writings of Marcus Tullius Cicero provided a splendid quarry for Waltham. The moral and philosophical truisms with which the works of the great orator abound were ideal material for the Compendium, and a good deal of historical material also could be found in them. It is correct to say that Waltham employed Cicero freely and, in most cases, with a fair degree of verbal accuracy: but it is impossible to state how much of it was secured first hand and how much was borrowed. Very probably Roger devoted careful study to the De senectute, the De amicitia, and the De officiis. There is some question with regard to the Tusculans and the Philippics although the citations are both numerous and accurate. I do not care to hazard a guess with respect to the remaining philosophical and rhetorical works because there is so much of Cicero absorbed in the writings of the church fathers that Roger could probably have secured the whole collection from Augustine and Jerome without turning a page of the original. The representation is impressive, however, and Waltham--from whatever source he got it,---doubtless had a good knowledge of Cicero as measured by the standards of the early fourteenth or of the early twentieth century.⁸

⁸ Cicero			
<u>De amicitia</u>	xi.	37 :	170R
	xii.	40 :	34R
	xii.	43 :	34R
	xiv.	50 :	65V
	xvii.	64 :	171V
	xviii.	65 :	55V
	xx.	74 :	65V
	xxv.	91-2 :	169V
<u>Academicorum</u>	ii.	140 :	171V
			wrongly attributed to "Dialogus ad Ortensium." A very similar passage is in the <u>De divinatione</u> i, 87.

De
divinatione II, xxii. 49 : 115V

De domo sua ad
pontifices sec. 146 : 162V attributed to "Katellina."

(Continued)

It is worthy of note that neither Caesar nor Livy are cited in the Compendium. Vergil is represented, but weakly; there

Cicero

De natura
deorum

i. 122 : 171V

De inventione

i. 36 : 56V usually called
"Liber Rethoricorum."

i. 69 : 50R

ii. 157 : 83R

ii. 159 : 101V

ii. 160 : 51R

ii. 161 : 50V

cf. ii. 65

De legibus

I. vi. 18 : 50R

I. vii. 42 : 50R

II. iv. 8 : 50R

rectius Isidore
Etym. II, x 2.

De officiis

I. vi. 19 : 72V

I. vii. 23 : 55R

I. vii. 20 : 51R

I. vii. 22 : 17V

I. x. 33 : 81V

I. xi. 34 : 66R (?)

I. xiii. 41 : 55R

I. xiv. 42 : 164V

I. xix. 64 : 143R

I. xix. 65 : 75V

I. xix. 65 : 74R

I. xxii. 76 : 56V

I. xxiii. 79 : 27V

I. xxiii. 80 : 105V

I. xxiii. 81 : 75R

I. xxv. 85 : 49V

I. xxv. 88,

89 : 79V

I. xl. 144 : 28R

II. vi. 22 : 164R

II. vii. 24,

25 : 144R

II. xiv. 48 : 30R

II. xii. 39,

40 : 51V

II. xv. 52 : 165R

III. vi. 26,

28 : 51R

III. xiv. 60 : 169V

III. xxiii. 90 : 34V

III. xxix. 107 : 87V

III. xxx. 110 : 80V (?) a confused pas-
sage in the Chicago
MS which has some
ideas roughly parallel
to this section of
De officiis.

De oratore

II. 36 : 16R

(Continued)

are only four brief passages from the Aeneid, the same number from the Georgics. It is unlikely that Roger knew either of these

<u>Philippica</u>	I.	29 :	18V	
	II.	5 :	51R	
	VIII.	29 :	75R	
	XI.	7 :	69R	
	XIV.	32 :	74R	
<u>Paradoxon</u>	II.	18 :	141R	
	V.	33 :	26R	
	V.	36 :	179V	
	V.	34 :	85R	
<u>Pro Balbo</u>		15 :	74V	
<u>Pro Caelio</u>		8 :	192V	
		28 :	198V	attributed to "Katelina."
		55 :	48R	" " "
<u>Pro Ligario</u>		35 :	88V	attributed to "De laude Cesaris"
<u>Pro M.Marcello</u>		8 :	79V	attributed to "De orationibus"
		12 :	80R	attributed to "Libro de orationibus"
<u>Pro Sestio</u>		143 :	192V	attributed to "Libro de Oratore"
<u>De senectute</u>	V.	13 :	69V	
	VI.	17 :	57R	
	XI.	38 :	57V	
	XII.	42 :	175V	
<u>Tusculanae disputationes</u>	I. 1	4 :	17V	
	I. 11	4 :	17V	"Honos alit artes" cf. Polieraticus VIII, v (Webb II, 246, 1.8) and Augustine De civitate dei V, 12.
	I.	80 :	83R	
	III.	2 :	83V	
	III.	21		
	and IV.	17		
		18 :	122R	a composite passage attributed to "Rethorum"
	IV.	22 :	175V	
	V.	61 :	32R	
	V.	101 :	28R	a composite quotation from Cicero, Hugh of Fleury, and Justin giving the story of Sardanapalus.

There are also quotations attributed to Cicero on folia 101R; 154R; 167V for which I have been unable to find parallel passages.

works first hand: perhaps, if he did read the poet, he found the material too inflexible for his moralizing.⁹

The unsteadiness of Roger's hand in dealing with the poets is shown by his attribution of three passages from Ovid to Vergil. Lucretius found no place in the Compendium. Horace fared rather better in frequency and in accuracy of quotations, although only the Ars poetica and the Epistolae were employed. The passages chosen for incorporation in the Compendium are mostly brief, pithy statements of proverbial wisdom for which the poet was so highly esteemed by medieval sage and 19th century Oxonian. Most of the Horatian citations could have been secured by Waltham from standard medieval writers whose works were used elsewhere in the Compendium.¹⁰

⁹Vergil
Aeneid

I. 515 : 115V
IV. 373 : 173R
IV. 569,
750 : 183V

VI. 850, admittedly taken from
853 : 83R Augustine De civitate
dei V. 12.

Georgics

II. 490 : 115V cf. Polieraticus vii, viii
(Webb, II, 120).

III. 66,
67 : 205R

IV. 163,
164 : 16V

IV. 212 : 117V cf. Seneca De clementia,
I. iv. 1.

¹⁰Horace

Ars poetica

1 92 : 27V cf. Polieraticus I,
iv (Webb, I, 34, 131).

1 139 : 75R cf. Jerome Jovinian
I, 1: Odo de Ceri-
tona (Cherington)
Fabulae, XV (Her-
vieux, II, 647).

Epistolae

I. 355 : 16R

I. 11 27 : 192R cf. Odo de Ceritona.
Fab. XV (Hervieux,
II, 606).

I. 11 69,
70 : 65V

cf. Polieraticus.
VI, iv (Webb, II, 14).
Augustine De civitate

From the ranks of the amatory poets of classical antiquity, Ovid alone was chosen for contributions to Roger's work: Catullus, Tibullus, and Propertius are not mentioned. There are about four times as many excerpts from Ovid as from either Vergil or Horace: the Ars amatoria, Amores, Fasti, Heroides, Metamorphoses, and the Ex Ponto are all employed. Two of the bits from the Ars amatoria are incorrectly attributed to Vergil, one passage from the Metamorphoses likewise. Otherwise the statements of authorship are correct.¹¹

				dei. I. iii: Odo de Ceritona, Fab. xxv. (Hervieux, II, 611).
	I.	xviii	86 :	166R
	I.	xviii	87,	
			88 :	31V
	II.	ii	194 :	160R
¹¹ Ovid				
<u>Ars amatoria</u>		i	214 :	141V
		i	374 :	115V (incorrectly cited to Vergil)
		i	471 :	115V (incorrectly cited to Vergil)
		ii	279,	
			280 :	165R (cit. "Ethnicus poeta") cf. Policra- ticus V. x (Webb I, 326, 17-18)
		iii	9 :	41R
<u>Amores</u> (cited throughout as <u>Liber sine titulo</u>)	I.	viii	43 :	183R Casta est quam nemo rogavit. cf. Mar- tial IV, lxxi, 5ff.
	I.	viii	62 :	164V
	I.	x	48 :	45R cf. Policraticus I, vi (Webb I, 43, 12)
	II.	viii	14 :	145R, 18V
	III.	ii	34 :	165R
	III.	iv	3,	
			4 :	183R cf. Seneca <u>De bene- ficiis</u> , IV. xiv, 1.
<u>Fasti</u>	III.	iv	5 :	183R
	IV.		331 :	132R
<u>Heroides</u>	I.		12 :	179V (cited as <u>Liber epistolarum</u>)
	IV.		79 :	179V
	IV.		89 :	16V

(Continued)

Extensive use was made of Ovid's verse throughout the Compendium. But Roger was not always careful to select passages which harmonized in their literal meaning with the spirit of his opus. After cruising patiently over seas of platitude and pious moralizing one reefs in sharply at such a phrase as: Casta est quam nemo rogavit.¹² Perhaps Roger used a moralized version of the poet. In any case, the good canon removed the possibility of erroneous impressions by inserting a long and vicious diatribe against women, fols. 179R-189R.

Of the later Latin poets Roger knew very little, and the citations, from whatever source, are curiously warped, indicating

	XI.	15,	
		16 :	26R
<u>Metamorphoses</u>	II.	415,	32V,
		417 :	143R
	IX.	5 :	74R
	IX.	723 :	183V (wrongly cited to Vergil)
<u>Ex Ponto</u>	I.	ii 123,	
		124 :	83R (cited "Ethnicus")
	I.	vi 45,	to which is added
		46 :	as a third line
			II, ii, 27.
	II.	ix 11 :	123R
	III.	i 147 :	35V
	III.	iv 79 :	134R
	III.	ix 35,	
		36 :	217V (cited <u>De Ponto</u>)
	IV.	ii 35,	
		36 :	74R
	IV.	iii 35,	31V,
		36 :	150V
	IV.	iii 57,	
		58 :	32V
<u>Tristia</u>	IV.	iii 37,	
		38 :	114R
	V.	xii 31 :	108V to which is added
			<u>Tristia</u> V,xiii,29.
	V.	xii 37,	
		38 :	74R
	V.	viii 15,	
		(ix) 17 :	31V

There are passages attributed to Ovid on Folia 17V; 179V; 193V which I have been unable to locate.

¹²Amores I, viii, 43.

transmission through many intermediary hands. Persius contributed only one line: Lucan likewise. Juvenal yielded three or four slender excerpts: Martial one.¹³

The affection for the prose of Seneca, which resulted in the extraordinary dilution of Roger's text with the writings of that philosopher did not extend, apparently, to his poetry. The tragedies of Seneca were drawn upon for eight brief citations, of which seven are of one verse only.¹⁴

Waltham's proper genius was prose, preferably rhetorical prose: the poets supplied him with little if their contributions are considered in relation to the total bulk of the Compendium.

The rhetoricians of the early empire, notably Valerius Maximus, Seneca the Elder, and Seneca the Younger constituted the sources from which Waltham drew more than half of the material for his compilation. Valerius Maximus was a favorite, for obvious reasons: his book on memorable sayings and deeds of the men of old was extremely popular in the middle ages, particularly with the compilers of rule-books for princes and prelates. Waltham certainly knew Valerius directly, for there are at least eighty quotations, many of considerable length, from his works.¹⁵ With

¹³Persius Sat. I, 27: 17V. Lucan Phars. viii, 493: 166R cf. Polieraticus V. x. (Webb, I, 329, 13, 14). Juvenal Sat. III, 143: 169V. III, 183, 184: 165R. VI, 460: 183R. Martial Epigr. LXXI: 165R cited "Marcial Cocus."

¹⁴Seneca

Agamemnon

243 : 198V

286 : 166R

611 : 202R

Hercules Oetaeus

111 : 202R cit. "Hercule Etheo"

Troades

250 : 26R

254,

258 : 122R

291 : 134R

869 : 202R

¹⁵See Appendix for Valerius Maximus.

equal assurance one may state that Roger read and excerpted the rhetorical exercises of the elder Seneca, the Controversiae. Roger failed to distinguish among works emanating from the pen of the elder and the younger Seneca but applied the cognomen indiscriminately to both, a very natural mistake. The text supplying the excerpts corresponds closely with the Excerpta controversiarum which Kiessling appended to his edition of the Controversiae,¹⁶ but with some variants: e.g., Roger's manuscript apparently had unabridged prologues. Although the dramatic form of these imaginary law suits made them excellent material for the storyteller (and re-workings of the themes appear frequently in medieval literature) Waltham was curiously uninterested in the cases themselves: he preferred to abstract the platitudes which define obvious virtues. The result follows that a work, which in the original form was adequately artificial and dull, reaches us as the triple-distilled essence of dryness: excerpts of an abridgement of a case book. There are forty of these choice bits to intrigue some future student of Seneca Rhetor.¹⁷

¹⁶Kiessling, ed., Annaei Seneca oratorum et rhetorum sententiae divisiones colores (Controversiae), (Lipsiae: B. G. Teubner, 1872).

¹⁷Seneca Rhetor
Controversiae 1 prol. 6 : 16R
 1 prol. 7 : 179V
 1 prol. 15 : 17R
 1 prol. 18,19 : 17R abridged
 1 prol. 21,22 : 81R

Excerpta
Controv. 1 1 : 32R
 1 2 : 180R,192V,183V
 1 8 : 114R
 11 1 : 32R,34V,164V,183R
 11 5 : 51R,183V
 11 7 : 183V
 111 1 : 190R
 111 5 : 201V
 1v prol. 1 : 116R
 1v prol. 6 : 104R
 1v 4 : 162R
 1v 7 : 73R (Continued)

The works of the younger Seneca were apparently Roger's favorite pabulum. In number, the passages from the philosopher are surpassed only by biblical references: in volume Seneca leads all the rest. Once Roger launched upon a choice letter or moral tract, his capacity for critical and apposite selection, insofar as he possessed such capacity, seems to have broken down, and many times he continued with his butchery of the text until the whole opus had been mutilated into proper shape for the Compendium, whether the material beyond the initial sentence was relevant or not. His method of excision involved the deletion of passages which contained names of persons and/or places, philosophical passages which demanded too much mental exertion, and areas in which Seneca's Latinity was too difficult. Sometimes he chose to invert sentences; sometimes he created new sentences from clauses widely separated in Seneca's original text. The Epistolae were his favorites, and are quoted at great length. He likewise employed the authentic philosophical treatises, including the De beata vita, De beneficiis, De brevitae vitae, De clementia, De consolatione, De constantia sapientis, De ira, De providentia, and De tranquillitate animi. The De quaestionibus naturalibus, comprising Seneca's adventures in pseudo-scientific writing, were robbed of the pious observations interlarded among

iv	8	:	34V, 35R, 123R
v	1	:	74R, 115V, 161V
v	2	:	175R
v	8	:	183R
vi	5	:	75R
vii	4	:	175R
vii	6	:	141V
vii	8	:	32V
viii	1	:	45R
ix	1	:	87V
ix	2	:	16R
ix	5	:	41R
ix	6	:	118V
ix	9	:	41R

the descriptions of natural phenomena. Of the works attributed to Seneca in the middle ages Roger used the collection of proverbs which passed under the name of De moribus (q.v. infra), the excerpts known as De formula honestae vitae, De remediis fortuitorum, De paupertate, and an opus entitled De septem liberalibus artibus. To this conspectus of the Seneca bibliography the tragedies, mentioned above, should be added.¹⁸ Unfortunately, the excerpts seem to contribute nothing to the text of Seneca, at least so far as I have been able to observe, despite their bulk and complexity.

No subsequent pagan author can challenge the position of Cicero, Valerius Maximus, and the Senecas in the Compendium: but taken in the aggregate, the writers of the later empire assume considerable importance. Both the Plinys are mentioned. From the elder Pliny, Waltham borrowed some curious misinformation on female physiology for his diatribe against women.¹⁹ The younger Pliny contributed only four short, nondescript selections.²⁰ Quintilian was quoted with fair accuracy a half-dozen times.²¹ The authorship of Aulus Gellius,--spelled "agellius,"--was acknowledged in the case of two passages; and a third passage, attributed

¹⁸The Seneca references are so numerous that an appendix containing the tabulations has been added at the end of this chapter.

¹⁹Pliny Sr. Nat. Hist. VII. 13, VIII. 33, XXVIII. 23 for ideas contained in Compendium, 180V and 186R. Roger did not acknowledge the source of his information, but the intermediary here is probably Solinus Collectanea rer. mem. I, 54 (ed. Mommsen, p. 13, LL4-9), with which the language corresponds closely.

²⁰Pliny Jr. Epistolae

I.	xiv	10	:	171R
I.	xv	9	:	74R
I.	xxii	5	:	74R
IV.	ix	11	:	16R

²¹Quintilian De inst. orat.

	i.	2.	14	:	132R
	viii.	5.	3	:	89V
	xii.	1.	31	:	198V
<u>Declam.</u>		ii.	14.		183R
		ii.	10.		187R
		ix.	13		187R

to "Valerius" proved likewise to be from the Attic Nights.²² Suetonius is represented by an abridgement of Tiberius iii.²³ which, I suspect, came from Hugh of Fleury. If Waltham had possessed first-hand knowledge of Suetonius, he doubtless would have made greater use of the horrendous examples in the lives of the Caesars. The chapter stands alone however. The examples given above from the Plinys, Quintilian, Gellius and Suetonius present no peculiar difficulties unless one should attempt to trace the route by which they came to Waltham's attention: one can be reasonably content with the identification per se. The situation is quite different, however, with regard to the selections from epitomes of history and of military science which found their way into Roger's collection. There the technical works of Frontinus and Vegetius on the art of war were used, but the name of the latter was applied indiscriminately to both sources. The presence of so much material from Frontinus with the label "Vegecius" attached raises the question as to whether Waltham ever read the Polieraticus of John of Salisbury: John relates the same set of stories, acknowledging the authorship of Frontinus in almost every case. Roger has enough borrowings from the Polieraticus elsewhere to convince a profound sceptic of his first-hand knowledge of the book. On folio 46R of the Compendium there is a composite passage from Vegetius and the Polieraticus, correctly attributed. The problem posited by these facts seems insoluble. The only

²²Aulus Gellius
Noct. attic.

VII.	xiv.	78R	attributed to "Agellius"
IX.	iii.	23V	" " "
			of. <u>Polieraticus</u> IV:vii (Q.V.).
V.	v.	76V	attributed to "Valerius"
			cf. <u>Polieraticus</u> VI,xix (Webb, II, 54-55).

²³Compendium fols. 37R, V.

hypotheses which seem to have any possibility of validity are the suppositions that Roger's obviously uncritical mind was content to put the name of Vegetius to anything which smacked of military science, or that he was stupid enough to read the Policraticus without raising a querying eyebrow.²⁴ The abbreviators of history who flourished under the Roman empire are represented by a tangle of references of which the interrelations are by no means clear and upon which a great deal more work must be expended. This is particularly true with regard to the medieval historical compilations through which this material might have come to Waltham, e.g. Hugh of Fleury and Helinand of Froidmont. Florus, for example, is cited by name only once, but the story of the molten gold being poured down the throat of the dead Crassus which goes back

²⁴Vegetius

Epit. de re milit.

- | | | | |
|------|------|-----|--|
| i. | 1 : | 77V | |
| i. | 3 : | 46R | cit. with <u>Policraticus</u> VI. vii (Webb, II, 20) |
| i. | 9 : | 76R | cit. incorrectly to Sallust, Q.V. |
| ii. | 5 : | 46R | |
| iii. | 26 : | 69V | |

Frontinus Strateg., incorrectly cited "Vegecius."

- | | | | | |
|-----|-----|------|--------|---|
| IV. | i | 5 : | 76R, V | <u>Policraticus</u> , VI. iv (Webb, II, 13) |
| IV. | i | 17 : | 77R | VI. xii (Webb, II, 33) |
| IV. | i | 25 : | 77R | VII. xiv (" II, 29, 30) |
| IV. | ii | 9 : | 68R | VI. xiv (" II, 37) |
| IV. | ii | 35 : | 77V | VI. xii (" II, 34) |
| IV. | iii | 2 : | 64R | V. vii (" I, 311) |
| IV. | iii | 3 : | 64R | V. xii (" I, 311) |
| IV. | v | 20 : | 82V | VI. xii (" II, 28) |
| IV. | vii | 37 : | 122V | IV. viii (Webb, I, 262) |

There is, in addition to the above, one passage attributed to Vegetius which I have found in neither Vegetius or Frontinus but which corresponds literally with Policraticus VI. xv (Webb, II, 41, LL7-8). There are two other alleged Vegetius passages, fols. 77R and 81R which I have not identified. The most amusing slip is the crediting of Vergil Aeneid VI. 850-53 to Vegetius (fol. 83R). Perhaps the cards were filed alphabetically and Roger reached too far.

to Florus is included in the Compendium without acknowledgement.²⁵ The abridgment of Trogus Pompeius by Justines contributed nineteen selections which are attributed indiscriminately to "Justinus" and to "Trogus Pompeius." The large number of citations and the relative accuracy with which the copying was done tempt one to believe that Justinus should be included among the authors known first hand.²⁶ The widespread use of Justinus among intermediate authors available to Waltham renders any positive statement unsafe. Quintus Curtius appears in the Compendium four times, twice by name only to support passages from Justinus, twice independently.²⁷

- ²⁵Florus: Epitoma (ed. B.O.Rossback, Lips.: Teub., 1896)
 I. xiii (xviii) 21-22 82R cit. "Anneus Florus
 Historiae Romanorum"
 I. xlvii lff 45V Roger may have secured
 this from Policraticus.
 III. i (Webb I, 206) or from Gratian Decretum C.I.
 Q.i.c. 97.
 For Helinand and Hugh of Fleury, see infra note 41.

- ²⁶Justinus. Epitoma historiarum Philippicarum Pompei Trogi (ed. Ruehl, Lips.: Teub., 1886).
 I. i 4 28R
 I. iii 2-6 28R
 II. viii 6 86R
 II. ix 1 86R "Philostratos Rex Athen."
 Peisistratos
 II. xii 8-11 44V
 III. ii 5-12 34R
 III. iii 1-12 34R cf. Policraticus IV, iii
 (Webb, I. 242)
 VI. ii 12-13 174R
 XI. i 10 30R
 XI. vi 4 69V
 XI. vi 3 77V
 XI. vi 4ff. 69V
 XI. xii 8 77R
 XII. v 10-12 81V
 XII. xiv lff. 29R
 XVIII. ii 7-9 164R
 XVIII. vii 1-2 78R
 XXVII. iv 1-6 28Vff.
 XXVIII. ix 9 23V

²⁷Cf. Justinus Epit. XI. vi, 4, XI. xii, 8 (note 26). I have been unable to verify references to Quintus Curtius in Compendium fols. 29R, 81V. The whole problem of the relationship of the materials, classical and medieval, which relate to the history of Alexander the Great has been deferred to the future. It is properly the task of some expert in the Alexander literature of

Hegesippus is mentioned several times, usually in connection with the names of Hugh of Fleury or Augustine. The citations are all short; none of them are of striking significance.²⁸ The curious epitome of Pliny the Elder from the pen of Julius Solinus is represented by three miscellaneous passages which concern the clemency of Julius Caesar, the vicious biting of beavers, and the election of kings on the island of Taprobane.²⁹ Roger's choice of materials from Solinus was no stranger than the nature of his source.

In the twilight of Roman culture few secular authors of note stand out beside the great fathers of the Christian church. With the exception of Boethius, Roger evidently found little to interest him in these minor profane authors. Macrobius' Saturnalia and the commentary on Cicero's Somnium Scipionis are both represented, but sparingly.³⁰ There are a few notices of Fulgentius in the Compendium, but these have not been verified.³¹ Symmachus is quoted briefly on folio 171R and 188V, but I have been unable to verify either reference. As one might expect, Roger knew and used frequently the work of Boethius. The De consolations philosophiae, delight of medieval scholars, appears at more than

the middle ages.

²⁸See Hegesippus under Hugh of Fleury. Cf. also Peter Comestor, Orosius.

²⁹C. Julius Solinus Collectanea rerum memorabilium, ed. Mommsen (Berlin: Weidman, 1895), I, 106: 123V. xiii, 2: 168V. liii. 14-17: 22V. Compare note 19 re Pliny the Elder.

³⁰Macrobius Saturnalia I. vi, 2: 183R which Roger could have secured from the Gesta Romanorum (Oesterley, I, 476, No. 126); Comm in Somn. Scip. I. i, 6 or II. xiii, 6: 213R; I. x, 3: 51V; I. xiv, 9: 32R. Roger has the story of Caesar's defense of the veteran (Compendium. fol. 82V) which is in Macrobius' Saturnalia II. iv, 27, but he could have secured it from the Polieraticus III. xiv (Webb I, 228) as well.

³¹Compendium 21V, 72V, 142R, 188R, 188V.

a score of places in the Compendium.³² It is perhaps worthy of note that Roger carefully avoided the difficult philosophical portions of Boethius. The transition from classic Latin to christian literature is best made with Boethius, the last of the great Romans and, in many ways, first of the schoolmen.

It is a matter of profound regret to me that the analysis of the patristic and medieval portions has been left so very incomplete. The task has been too great for solution in the limited time at my disposal, but at least the ground work has been done, and the lines along which future work must proceed are defined with some measure of clarity.

The obvious starting point for the Christian Latin literature in the Compendium is the Latin Bible. Roger knew the Scriptures well, and, following the accepted medieval custom, saturated his text with biblical allusion. To date I have identified and tabulated 467 scriptural references ranging in length from half sentences to full chapters. Roger made fullest employment of the wisdom literature: Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, Wisdom and Ecclesiasticus; but he also drew much from Job, Psalms and the Pauline

³²Boethius, De consolations philosophiae

I	prose	iii	68R, 74V
I	"	iv	22R (cf. Polieraticus IV. vii Webb I, 256)
II	"	ii	105R
II	"	iv	34R, 156V, 141R, 175V
II	"	v	154V
II	"	vi	144R, 153R, 154V
II	"	vii	74R
II	verse	vii	141R
III	prose	iv	171R
III	prose	v	166R
III	"	vi	72V
III	"	vii	180V
III	"	viii	187R
IV	"	i	145R

I have been unable to locate Boethius citations on 17V, 22R, 68R, 74R, 101R, 154R, 170V.

Epistles.³³ Doubtless there are many other scriptural reminiscences interlarded among the various ecclesiastical writings excerpted which I have failed to detect. Portions of the Moralia of Gregory are, for example, little more than centos of biblical phrases: the same may be said for parts of the canon law. The location of all these bits would satisfy norms of perfection, but would add little to the general statement.

Next to the Bible, Waltham relied most upon canon law, particularly upon the Decretum of Gratian. Through this work he derived much of his material from the great fathers of the church, some law,--especially disciplinary regulations,--and some history. Probably a great deal more of the patristic literature was derived from this source than I have indicated, for the Decretum was an excerpt book par excellence. In the present state of my study of the Decretum I have identified over a hundred sections of Roger's compilation. In most of these passages, Waltham acknowledges the source of his information by specific chapter reference to the Decretum, but in others only the author of the particular chapter of the Decretum is named. Many of the authorities adduced by Gratian were incorrectly labeled, and others never existed. The difficulty may be stated more concretely: Roger will include an excerpt from the Decretum identified only by a general phrase such as "Gregory says," without specific references to distinction, case, or chapter. Now the canonists had drawn heavily upon the works of Gregory the Great, but they likewise had borrowed much from the voluminous writings of the many popes and church fathers of the same name. The proverbial search for a needle in the hay stack is a relatively simple task compared with the identification of

³³See Appendix for list of Bible references.

a scrap of pious twaddle in the ocean of ecclesiastical writings. Lucky accident has accounted for many of the successful identifications attained to date. The careful study of the canons however unsatisfactory the results is prerequisite to the examination of the christian authors used.³⁴

The four great doctors of the early church were employed in a profusion of citations, but few, apparently, of these citations were taken from the original texts, Thus Roger took thirteen selections from Jerome's treatise against Jovinian, most of which he acknowledged, and four from the De viris illustribus. Of these two works, the citations from the first are correct: two of the four cited from the latter are incorrect. From the Decretum, Waltham chose an assortment of eight alleged Jerome passages. Three of the eight are not by Jerome and one is a cento made up of Jerome fragments. Such examples illustrate the degree of fidelity with which Waltham followed the texts of the fathers. A number of miscellaneous bits from the famed letters of the

³⁴Due to the bulk of the Gratian references, they have been presented in tabular form in an appendix. In addition to the Decretum, Waltham included a few pieces from other jurists and commentators. Ivo of Chartres supplied two short passages (17V, 27V). Glosses on the Decretum are found on fols. 133 V, 136R, 188V. Citations from the civil law are given fols. 49R, 51V, 52R, 156V. On fol. 152 V is a brief passage attributed to "Bazanus," perhaps a variant spelling for Bassianus. An author unknown to me, Petrus Hostiensis, is cited under title "Lect. ext. de voto et voti redemptione" on 18V, 51V. On fol. 133R a bit of doggerel verse is attributed to the same individual. An extravagant of Innocent IV is quoted, fol. 33V, and the bull Unam sanctam is found in full, fols. 53V-54R.

A group of glosses less evidently of legal source is found on fols 51V, 66V, 99V, 154. Anonymous commentators on Daniel and Ezechiel are represented on fol. 54V and a "Commentator in Ethicorum IX" on fol. 51V. Haymo is acknowledged by name once, cited super Corinthios 18 (fol. 24R) and Petronius of Bologna twice (fols. 163V, 134R).

Ciceronian Saint were likewise used.³⁵ Ambrose is cited for some twenty passages, but, except in so far as these sections are

35Jerome, Adversus Jovinianum

- | | | | |
|-----|----|-------------|--|
| I. | 28 | 182V | |
| I. | 34 | 58V | |
| I. | 46 | 88R | cf. <u>Policraticus</u> III. 111 (Webb, I, 216-217) |
| I. | 48 | 87V | cf. <u>Policraticus</u> VIII. xi (Webb, II, 301) |
| I. | 48 | 182V | cf. <u>Policraticus</u> (Webb, II, 299)
"Mulier cum veste deponit verecundiam" which is remotely derived from Herodotus I. 8. |
| I. | 49 | 179V | |
| II. | 9 | 181R | |
| II. | 11 | 178R | cf. <u>Policraticus</u> (Webb, II, 256) |
| II. | 14 | 161R, 105V. | |

De viris illustribus

- | | | |
|-------|------|--|
| xliv | 134V | cit. "Polycarp" rectius Polycrates (of Ephesus) cf. Eusebius <u>H.E.</u> V. xxiv. 7. |
| lxvii | 78V | Cyprian Afer. |

On fol. 134V there is a reference to Dionysius of Alexandria cited from the De viris illustribus which is taken from Eusebius Historia Ecclesiastica VI. xl, 1-9 by way of Rufinus' Translation VI. xl, 8. A second reference to Dionysius, likewise cited from the De viris is from a letter of Jerome to Novatian (Migne P.L. XXIII, col. 714A).

Epistolae

- | | | |
|------|------|---|
| IX | (44) | Migne <u>P.L.</u> XXII, col. 342 : 168V |
| CXXV | 11 | " " XXII, col.1078 : 88V |
| | | " " XXII, col.1082 : 174V |

The tract of dubious authorship, Ad Oceanum de vita clericorum (sec. 5 ad calc.), is abstracted on fol. 70R. Roger has the story of Crates the Theban, who could not possess virtue and wealth at the same time, and therefore threw a great amount of gold into the sea. He attributes it to Jerome. The story of Crates Thebanus is in Jerome Ep. LVIII. 2 and Ep. CXVIII. 5, and in Jovinian II. 9. It is also in Gratian Decretum C. XII. Qii. c. 71 and Policraticus VII. xiii (Webb, II, 151). John of Salisbury and Roger both substitute "Socrates" for "Crates." An assortment of Jerome citations came from the canon law:

Gratian, Decretum

- | | | | |
|-------|---------|---------|------------------------------------|
| Dist. | XXXII. | 17 | (a cento of Jerome fragments):180V |
| | XLV. | 17 | (not Jerome but Origen): 132V |
| | LXXXVI. | 22 | 156V |
| | XC. | 7 | 135V |
| C. | II. | Q. viii | c. 29 : 133V |
| C. | VIII. | Q. 1 | c. 16 : 18V (not Jerome) |
| C. | VIII. | Q. 1 | c. 19 : 136R |

(Continued)

drawn from the canon law, I have not yet tried to work out the sources.³⁶ Augustine was credited with some material which certainly was not his: five of the eleven Augustine extracts from Gratian, for example, are incorrectly attributed. In the case of a few of the references labelled simply "Augustinus" I have found in Augustine passages roughly parallel to Roger's version in thought, but lacking in verbal similarity. In one work only has the footing been more solid: Roger used the De civitate dei,-- or an abridgment thereof,--in more than a score of places. Probably a careful study of this work in relation to the Compendium as a whole would reveal that its influence was greater than is apparent from the superficial tabulation of the citations given below.³⁷ Although the number of passages from Gregory the Great

C. XXIII. Q. v c. 23 : 33R (not Jerome)

A quotation from Jerome on fol. 141R corresponds verbatim with chap. xxx of the Gesta Romanorum (Oesterley, p. 328).

³⁶Ambrose, quoted from Gratian, Decretum

D. 37 c. 10 : 152V

D. 41 c. 1 : 178R not Ambrose but
Augustine, Doct.
Christ. III, xii.

D. 86 c. 14 : 156R

D. 86 c. 18 : 156V

D. 96 c. 10 : 130R

C. XXXIII. Q. 111 c. 78 : 157R

C. XXXIII. Q. v c. 18 : 188V

Other Ambrose citations on fols. 50R, 52R, 55R, 81R, 82V, 67V, 72R, 108V, 140V, 159R, 159V, 173V.

The story of Ambrose refusing his election to the Archbishopric of Milan and of his keeping prostitutes in his house is given on fol. 151R.

³⁷St. Augustine: from the Decretum of Gratian

Dist. VIII. 2 : 189R

XLI. 3 : 178V

XLV. 12 : 155V not Augustine

XLVI. 10 : 136R

L. 25 : 100V

C. XI. Q. 111 c. 51 : 131V

C. XI. Q. 111 c. 80 : 130V not Augustine

C. XI. Q. 111 c. 85 : 132V

C. XXIII. Q. 1 c. 4 : 69V not Augustine

C. XXIII. Q. 11 c. 5 : 165V not Augustine

C. XXIII. Q. 11 c. 6 : 66R not Augustine

(Continued)

which I have been unable to locate is still large, nevertheless the borrowings from him are much easier to define than those from Augustine. Thus there are twenty-six excerpts from the Moralia, four from the homilies In Evangelia, and five from the homilies In Ezechielem, which have been positively identified. From Gratian thirteen miscellaneous excerpts containing materials from Gregory's writings passed into the Compendium. Additional investigation in the canon law will doubtless turn up some more of the borrowings attributed to Gregory, but accident of reading will add other identifications. For example on folio 175R there is an attribution to Gregory "I super Ezechiel" which is, however, a passage taken verbatim from Seneca, Epistola LIX: on 130V, a citation to "Lib. I Moraliu" which is really taken from Ambrose

De civitate dei

I. 10	58R	II. 21	: 57V
I. 19,20	213V	IV. 4	: 52R, 81V
I. 18,19	108V, 109R	V. 10	: 136V
I. 20	115R	V. 12	: 83R, 58R
I. 22,23	213V	V. 18	: 34R, 64R
I. 33	58V	IX. 4	: 105V
II. 2	58V	XII. 8	: 179R
II. 20	64V	XVIII. 18	: 75V
		XXI. 3	: 215V

Citation from the De civitate dei XXII, 10 on fol. 51V not correct: similar thought but not verbal parallelism in De civitate dei II. 21 and II. 22: likewise a citation from XII. 21, fol. 51V is not correct. A similar passage is in Augustine's Tractatus XVIII (Maur. ed. III² 1886). The phrase, "Omnes volunt villi emere et care vendere" (fol. 54V) is from Augustine's De trinitate XIII, 6. A few scraps have been picked up from the sermons: De verbis domini XVII. 7: 210V. XXXIX passim: 210V Sermones ad pop. XVI. 2: 210V. From the letters I have found only one: Epistolae, classis III. ep. 138: 88V. Ideas from "Augustinus" without additional specification are found on fols. 16V,-- where the thought is closely paralleled by Epist. III. 147, sec. 38 and the De trinitate XIV. sec. 14,--and 174V, paralleled by the Enarr. in Psalm. IX, sec. 20, and 140V, for which cf. Enarr. in Psalm CXXXIX, sec. 13. A long list of alleged Augustiniana remains to be investigated: 21V, 24R, 26R, 27R, 50R, 52R, 53R, 54R, 64V, 66V, 72R, 136V, 137R, 141V, 157R, 159V, 177R, 183R, 210V, 215V.

through Gratian's Decretum C. XI. Q. iii, c. 68.³⁸ In addition to the borrowings from the four great doctors, Roger drew materials from a number of ecclesiastical writers of lesser fame. The most important from the standpoint of frequency of citation is Isidore of Seville whose Etymologies are often used. Some of the excerpts came admittedly through the canon law, others through the

³⁸ Gregory the Great, <u>Moralia</u>							
Liber	Cap.	Sec.	<u>Compendium</u>	Liber	Cap.	Sec.	<u>Compendium</u>
			Fol.				Fol.
5	45	78	130V	24	11	32,33	216R
7	24	29	171V	23	12	22	210V
8	13	28	210V	25	1	1	144R
8	51	87	169R	25	15	33	72R
9	61-3	92-5	211R	25	16	33,34	136V
18	2	4	136V	26	43	78	99V
18	18	28	214V	27	46	78	141R
18	38	59	141R	29	6	16,17	132V
19	17	26	23R	29	18	33	216R
21	2	4	286V	30	10	37	86V
21	19	29	158V	31	25	47	174V
22	21	52	133R	31	33	69	216V
22	22	35	211V	34	22	42,45	140V

Two attributions to the Moralia on fol. 210V are both straight Vulgate, Job 7:6 and Job 14:1. From the canon law Roger drew the following:

Dist. XXXIX. 1 : 20R
 XLIII. 1 : 226R, 133R, 132V
 XLV. 9 : 99V
 XLV. 14 : 100R
 XLVI. 1 : 100V
 XCVI. 10 : 130R

C. I. Q. 1 c. 114 : 146V
 C. VIII. Q. 11 c. 1 : 19V
 C. VIII. Q. 1 c. 9 : 20R
 C. VIII. Q. 1 c. 17 : 20R
 C. XI. Q. 111 c. 55 : 131V

In Evangelia Liber Homilia Sectio Compendium
 I. vii 4 140V
 I. vii 4 142V (Corr. Moralia
 liber 34)
 I. xvi 2 154R (2)
 II. xl 3 189R
 Lect.
In Ezechielem I. ii 3 23R
 I. viii 6 53R
 I. ix 21 174V
 I. xi 9,10 133R
 II. 1 5f. 53V

Citations from Gregory not found: 48R, 71R, 71V, 101R, 49V, 139V, 140R, 140V, 145R, 151R, 151V, 156R, 158V, 165R, 169V, 173V, 210V, 215V.

grammarian Papias. Roger himself took one fling at the pleasantly speculative science of etymology, deriving elemosina from heloi, meaning deus, and mois, meaning aqua. Now Isidore gives Eloi as one of the names of God (Etym. VII: 4) and interprets Moyses as "Sumptus ex aqua" (Etym. VII. vi, 46). The material, therefore, for Waltham's brilliant construction can be found in Isidore.³⁹ Perhaps, however, Roger went directly to Exodus 2:10 for his inspiration. Cyprian, Cassian, Sidonius Apollinaris, Cassiodorus, the Pseudo-Chrysostom, and Origen are represented in the Compendium, but I have not as yet endeavored to work out their specific contributions.⁴⁰

The most perplexing problem in the analysis of Waltham's sources is the determination of origin for the historical materials

³⁹Isidore, Etymologies

I.	xl	7	57R
II.	x	2	50V labeled Cicero <u>De legibus</u>
V.	ii	2	50V Gratian Dist. I. 1
V.	xx,xxi		49V Gratian Dist. IV.1
IX.	iii	4	25V Papias
IX.	iv	8	57R
IX.	vii	29	182V
XII.	vii	52	81R
XVIII.	ii	1	81V Papias
XVIII.	ii	3,4	141R a passage concerning triumphs is a curious passage blended from Isidore (Papias), Ovid, Augustine, <u>Gesta Romanorum</u> (Oesterley, chap. xxx)

Portions of Isidore are taken from the Decretum of Gratian, with acknowledgment:

Dist.	XXI.	1	25V
C.	XI.	Q	iii c. 72 163V
C.	XI.	Q	iii c. 80 130V

Papias is used for bits 18V, 21R, 101R, 118R, 141R, for which I have not found parallels in Isidore.

⁴⁰Cyprian is cited on fols. 21R, 33R, 51V, 64V, 65R, 78V, 151R, 159R, 184V, 189V: Cassian on fols. 29V, 140V: Sidonius on 58V, 70R, 132R, 161R, 162R, 173V: Cassiodorus on fols. 17V, 22V, 66R, 74R, 137R, 154V: The Pseudo-Chrysostom, labeled variously "Crysostomus, Crisostomus, Crystomus, Os Aureum," is on fols. 20R, 53R, 142R, 144V, 148R, 156V, 168V, 182V, 215R (cf. Gratian, Decretum Dist. XLI c. 12 and C. XXXIII. q. iii, c. 77 for the Chrysostom passages on fols. 20R, 156V respectively). Origen is cited fols. 18V, 132V, 145R, 180R.

of medieval provenance. Two types of data must be considered: materials on ancient and classical history which came through medieval compilations, and materials on medieval history by contemporaries or near contemporaries of Waltham. For the first type, Roger drew heavily upon the compilation of Hugh of Fleury and Helinandus of Froidmont; he also found a few examples in Gratian's Decretum,--mostly from ecclesiastical historians,--in the Polycraticus of John of Salisbury, and in Peter Comestor's Historia scholastica. The analysis of the historical materials will have little significance until a great deal of preliminary editing and criticism is applied to Hugh of Fleury and Helinandus, whose texts have been published uncritically, and in a fragmentary state. The mistakes of Hugh and Helinand may account for some of the almost innumerable errors of attribution in the Compendium, for both made up their histories by patching excerpts together.⁴¹ Roger may have read Hegesippus, Eusebius, Rufinus, Orosius, Cassiodorus, but it is hard to believe that he could have mangled the texts so badly, or that he could have made so many incorrect attributions if the texts had been before him. It seems preferable to throw the responsibility upon the earlier excerpters. Such procedure saves Roger's face a little. The details of analysis of the historical sources insofar as they have been worked out are

⁴¹For the editions of Hugh of Fleury see Potthast, Wegweiser, I, 626. He is cited on fols. 28R, 28V, 46R, 46V, 47V, 56R, 67R(2), 79V, 121R, 144R, 164R. On fol. 36R Roger attributes a passage to "Hugo Moriacense in historia ecclesiastica." Bits attributed to "Hugo" are found on fols. 141R, 182V, 183R, 214R, which may be from Hugh of Fleury, Hugh of St. Victor (Q.V. infra), or others. For Helinandus, see Potthast, I, 575. His writings are published in Migne, P.L. CCXII, cols. 771-1082, but include the Chronicon only from chap. XLV ff. (anno 634--) and such fragments of the De regimine as were incorporated in Vincent of Beauvais. Selections from Helinandus are found on fols. 22V, 23V, 25R, 34R, 35R, 40V, 50R, 51R, 58R, 80V, 144V, 165V, 180R.

relegated to the notes.⁴²

Of the second type of historical material,--that pertaining to contemporary or near contemporary events,--Roger has little

⁴²See supra notes on Sallust, Cicero, Valerius Maximus, Florus, Vegetius and infra notes to John of Salisbury Policraticus and Hugh of St. Victor.

(A) Hegesippus is cited on fols. 37R, 45V, 121R(2), 144R, 213V. Together with Josephus, he occurs on fols. 45R, 150R, 213V. A story about Tiberius is cited from Josephus on fol. 165V which corresponds to the Ant. Jud. XVIII. vi, 5 but which follows the language of chap. 11 of the Gesta Romanorum (Oosterley, p. 348) closely.

(B) Roger employs the Ecclesiastical History of Eusebius in the Latin translation of Rufinus, using the names Eusebius and "Ruffinus" without discrimination. The portions borrowed are as follows:

<u>Historia Ecclesiastica</u>	II.	xix,xx	135V	
	V.	ix,x	167R	
	V.	xxiv	7	134V
	VI.	xl	1-9	134V
	VII.	x	3	46R
	VIII.	xiii	11	46V
	VIII.	xiii	13-15	47R
	X.	iii,iv		142V
	X.	xi		24R
	XI.	xviii		128V
				cf. Gratian
				<u>Decretum C.</u>
				XI.Q.iii,
				c.69

The following references to Eusebius/Rufinus I have been unable to locate: 34R, 35R, 37V, 46V, 58R, 79V, 81R, 147R. A reference to an ecclesiastical history on fol. 71V concerns Attila, the scourge of God, and Lupus of Troyes, which is, of course not from Rufinus. A similar story but differing in details is to be found in the Policraticus IV, 11 (Webb, I, 236). Webb notes that another version of the Lupus-Attila story is in AASS. 29 July (VII, 78,82). A Rufinus item is found on fol. 47R, from Decretum C. XI. Qi. c. 41, sec. 1.

(C) Orosius is represented by a few items:

Historia adversus paganos

I.	xx	57R	Phalaris and the brass bull: cf. Valerius Maximus, notes.
II.	ix-xi	44V	a sharp abridgment.
VI.	vii-xvii	150V	ten chapters compressed to one paragraph.
VII.	xxxvi	47V	

A citation from Orosius on fol. 77V has not been located.

(D) The Historia Tripartita of Cassiodorus is cited six times, of which five references are to the correct title, the sixth to "Zenomenus."

I.	iii,iv	(Migne, P.L. LXIX, 923-924):	143R
I.	vii	(Migne, <u>Ibid.</u> , 890	): 47R
VII.	vii	(Gratian, <u>Decretum</u> , Dist. lxii c.3):	40V

Two references to this work, fols. 25R and 66R, have not been found.

(E) Petrus Comestor's Historia Scholastica, cited by title on

to offer. Only two events within his own life span were deemed worthy of inclusion. The more important of these is the publication of the bull Unam Sanctam by Boniface VIII (1302). The disgrace and exile of Thomas Weyland, the notorious Justice of Edward I (1289/90) supplied the other incident. As a pronounced canonist and defender of the supremacy of church over state, Roger found examples from the history of England in the 12th and 13th centuries to adorn his collection. Thomas à Becket appears in the Compendium as the glorious champion of the prerogative of the church, although not a hero without possibility of improvement. The conflict of John with Innocent III is treated at length, particularly the dealings of John with the legates Pandulfus and Durandus. The dramatic dialogue of the latter is amusing, but carries little credence.⁴³

fols. 24V, 25R, 29V, 45R, 48V, 78R, 133V, has not been worked out.

(F) The history of Alexander the Great in medieval chronicle and legend is so vast a subject that I shall simply list the occurrences of Alexander material without attempting now to unscramble the sources: see fols. 27R, 32V, 52R, 77R, 81V, 143V, 144V, 173V, 118R, 193V, 208V, 209R. Didimus, the Brahmins are present: the Scythians orate: the old man of the rock gives advice, etc.

⁴³Brief favorable notices of Becket are located on fols. 135R and 192R; one other note (fol. 178V) represents him as one devoted too much to good eating. The discussion of John's conflict with the pope and particularly the processus of John and the legates occupies fols. 41V-44V; the period discussed is A.D. 1212-1217. In this the account given by Roger resembles closely but nevertheless differs from those in the Annals of Burton and Waverley ("Annales monasterii de Burton," in Annales monastici, ed. H. R. Luard, Rolls Series, 1864, I, 209ff. and "Annales monasterii de Waverleia," op. cit., 1865, II, 268ff.). Possibly Roger's version is from a source common to both these annals. For destructive criticism of the yarn see J. H. Ramsey, The Angevin Empire (Oxford, 1903), p. 430. The case of Thomas Weyland, the Justice, who was among the first to suffer by his own law (fol. 33V), is, so far as I know, included in none of the studies of Weyland. Plummer has printed this passage in the notes to his edition of Fortescue's Governance, pp. 174-175, from Laud MS 616, fol. 105V. See Tout's article "Thomas Weyland" in D.N.B., XX, 1302-1303. Of the older histories of England only Bede is used; the Historia ecclesiastica appears as follows:

III	vi	155R	V	xiii	215R
III	xix	217R	V	xiv	215R

One passage from Bede's theological tractate on Mark xiv, through

Waltham shared the fondness of all medieval didactic writers for concise proverbs to embellish his composition. Some of these can easily be traced, but others are difficult to locate due to the abundance and triteness of proverbial commonplaces in scriptural and classical literature. A few of the sources will be indicated; the remainder must await further investigation. The Bible provided Roger with his richest mine; there are seventy quotations from Proverbs alone, with many from Ecclesiastes, Wisdom, Ecclesiasticus, and other books.⁴⁴ The classical authors contributed their share. Publilius Syrus is quoted from Seneca, Ep. viii. 9; Horace is plundered for some neat turns such as the "parturient montes nascetur ridiculus mus." The familiar collection known as the Distychs (or Dicta) of Cato supplied eight more.⁴⁵ Of course the platitudes of Seneca are multitudinous in the legitimately ascribed works; in addition to these, however, Roger employed the collection of proverbs attributed to Seneca by medieval scholars under the title De moribus; thirteen of these appear.⁴⁶ Another collection which may possibly contain some authentic material of Marcus Varro, which in any case passed under

the Decretum CXI. Q. iiii, c. 12, is included on fol. 163V.

⁴⁴See Index to Biblia Sacra in Appendix.

⁴⁵Dicta Catonis, ed. Nemethy (Budapest, 1895).

1. 14 : 174V (cf. Polieraticus, III. v. Webb, I, 183)

1. 31 : 170R 111 6 : 29V

11. 4 : 130V 111 10 : 56V

11. 16 : 193V 111 21 : 166R

Sententiae, No.49: 34R. Cf. fol.131V for one unverified.

⁴⁶Pseudo-Seneca De Moribus (ed. Haase, L. Annaei Senecae Opera quae supersunt omnia: supplementum, Lips: Teubner, 1902), pp. 60-66.

No. 16 : 193V

18,19 : 154V

20 : 171R

22 : 120V

45 : 154V

57,58 : 154V

85 : 134R

98 : 79R

104,120: 192V

144 : 175V

(cit. "Precepta Putagorica")

his name in the middle ages, also was drawn upon for a few axioms.⁴⁷ There are many other short adages attributed to "sapiens," "philosophus," and sometimes to specific sages. Some of these I have found inadvertently in searching for other things, but most of them are still unverified.⁴⁸ Waltham sometimes employed French proverbs and saws to illustrate a point, occasionally adding a

⁴⁷M. Terenti Varronis Saturarum Menippearum Reliquae, rec. Alex. Riese (Lips: Teubner, 1865), pp. 265-271. "Sententiae Varronis" cited by Roger as Liber de dictis moralibus.

Nos. 20,21 : 171R	Nos. 60,61 : 17R	Nos. 122,130
		142,143 : 72V
34,36 : 162V	74 : 23V	146 : 165V
46 : 16R	91 : 16V	149 : 17V
50,52 : 17V	113 : 17V	

⁴⁸Cleobolus Lydius (cit. Cleobolus Lindius), "Magis amicorum invidiam quam inimicorum insidias debemus curare," quoted on fols. 169R and 171V; not in Carm. Sept. Sap. ap. Hyginus, nor in Fulgentius, Augustine, Ausonius where portions of the Carmen are given.

Chrysippus 105V 2. "Philosophus" (lynx eyes; cf. Boethius De consolazione, III prose viii, possibly a confusion of Aristophanes); 186V. Philosophus, 85V, 160R, 192R.

Caecilius Balbus; fol. 173V, Roger quotes one phrase from Caecilius Balbus (cit. "Cecilius Blavus") which corresponds closely to Policraticus III. xiv (Webb, I, 222-223). A good deal of learned literature has been devoted to the collection which was attributed in the middle ages to Caecilius Balbus. A resumé of this material is given by Webb in note ad loc. cit. Traube has traced the collection to the middle of the 9th cent. (O Roma Nobilis, pp. 369-370).

Philosophus; 186V re. "lynx eyes," for which cf. Boethius De consolazione III. prose viii.

85V 160R, 192R

Sapiens; 23R, 80V.

Sextius Philosophus; 103R, 181R. The latter citation from "Sextus" is from the Sententiae of Xystus, quoted by Jerome in Jovinian. I. 48.

Secundus Philosophus; 55R, 160R, 169V, 184R.

Socrates; (cit. "in Sentenciis Moralibus"), 26R, 56V, 106R, 132R, 141V, 192V, 193R, 198V, 211V, 216R.

Solon Philosophus; "Felicitatis iudex ultimus dies est et appellationes honorem sapienti confirmat rogas." The substance of this is contained in Herodotus I. 32 ad. calc., but Roger certainly did not know Greek.

Theophrastus Philosophus; 81R, 170V (perhaps a variant of Seneca Epist. 3.2), 181R (from Jerome Jovinian, I. 49), 193V.

Zeno; 105R, 173V.

Latin translation.⁴⁹

Waltham's range of reading included an assortment of materials which, whatever the credence attached to them in the middle ages, are now classed as fiction. He incorporated into the Compendium a large number of brief stories drawn from a wide range of sources; some of written, some evidently of oral provenance. These stories serve a double purpose: as illustrations of vice and virtue, and as interludes to break the monotony of undiluted moral exposition. The problem of classification is difficult because a good deal of the material from historical or semi-historical sources is treated alike, particularly the excerpts from Valerius Maximus are employed in the same fashion as the fables and the saints' lives. The special student of the exempla literature of the late middle ages would find the Compendium a useful source of materials, although obviously it can not compare with the great collections of such tales brought together by Caesarius of Heisterbach, Bromyard and others. Waltham acknowledged some of the sources of his stories, others were dismissed with labels such as "in cronicis" or "in historiis." Thus he used the Disciplina clericalis of Petrus Alphonsi, the Barlaam and Josaphat of John Damascenus, the Gesta Karoli, the Gesta Romanorum, and many saints' lives. He employed the De nugis curialium of Walter Map, but apparently did not recognize the authorship of the tract for he cites it by the sub-title of its "distinctio," the Dissuasio Valerii ad Ruffinum ne uxorem ducat, the title under which this particular portion of Map's work circulated separately in the later middle ages. The analysis of sources for the bulk of this material must be reserved for future

⁴⁹Compendium fols. 20V, "beau promettre et riens doner fait le foil conforter."; 78R, 95R, "Tiel manace que ad paour quod est dictum; talis minatur qui timorem habet." Cf. also 107V, 159V.

work; I have indicated a few of the possible sources in the notes and a tabulation of the stories has been relegated to an appendix.⁵⁰

Waltham used fables here and there to lighten the heavy moral philosophy and to reinforce his points. Here again there is enough material for a small monograph if it be worked out completely. At present I can only outline in general terms the nature of the sources employed.

Incorporated into the text are many familiar fables, of which the commonest source employed by Roger is some medieval

⁵⁰John Damascenus Barlaam and Josaphat, cit. on fols. 30R, 31V, 138V, 156R, 171V, 185V.

Petrus Alfonsi Disciplina clericalis (Hilka and Soderhjelm) kleine Ausgabe (Heidelberg: Winter, 1911);

Ex. II, merchant of Baldak (Hilka, p.4); 172R ff. cf. Gesta Rom. c. LXXI (O.p.560)

Ex. VIII, feigned murder as test of true friendship; 172R, follows the Gesta Rom. version more closely, cf. Oesterley, cxxix, p. 483. This story is in Everyman and many other medieval (and modern) collections.

Ex. III, Three versificatores (Hilka, p.9); 27R

Ex. IV, mule disclaims jack ancestry; 27R

VII, cleric enters house of inebriates (Hilka, p.13); 64V

XXXIII, three philosophers at Alexander's coffin (Hilka, pp.48-9); 143V cf. Gesta Rom., xxxi (Oesterley, 329)

Gesta Romanorum, ed. Oesterley (Berlin: Weidman, 1872), xxx (p.328); 141R, the Roman triumph, xl (p.143); 57R Phalaris and the brass bull, cf. Valerius Maximus IX. ii. ext. 9. li (p. 348); 165V, 169V, Tiberius' procurators and his taxation: cf. Hugh of St. Victor Excerpta priorum, VI. iii (Migne P.L. CLXXVII col 241 c).

Etienne de Bourbon, Tractatus; 188R 2 cf. Beeson, Primer of Medieval Latin, p. 289, "Devils ride on ladies' trains."

Gesta Karoli, vii; 168R, the story of Romeric and his horse. Cf. Dunlop, History of Fiction, 2nd ed., p. 116. See

Walter Map, Dist. II, xxix for another yarn from this source.

Walter Map, De nugis curialium, Dist. IV. cap. iiii "Disuasio Valerii ad Ruffinum ne uxorem ducat, 182R, 182V. The story of "Actumajor of Cordova" wrecking St. James' at Compostella from the Charlemagne legend is given in Dist. II. cap. xxix and by Waltham fol. 47V.

Heraclides Paradisus cit. 53V, 151V

Various saints' lives are given on ff. 21V, 22R, 24R(2), 48R (St. Anthony), 64V, 70V (cit. "passiones Saints Lawrence and Hippolytus"), 71V(2), 73V, 151V, 155V, 178R, 180V, 192V, 193R, 193V, 208V, 212V, 216R (Bernard), 216V(2) (Augustine), Jerome's lion included among several other lion stories, 162V. The legend of the election of Jesus to the position of the high priest of the temple at Jerusalem is given from Suidas via Grosseteste, fols. 145 ff.

Latin prose version of Aesop. The Wolf and the Lamb, the Dog carrying meat over the bridge, the Raven and the Fox and the cheese, the chained Dog are all present. The Town Mouse and the Country Mouse, the Tortoise and the Eagle, and a number of moralizing medieval fables are derived mostly from a collection attributed to Odo of Cherington. Isidore added the fable of the wolves and the shepherds making truce on condition that the dogs be dismissed. The variations from the current printed texts of Odo and of the prose Aesop present many fascinating problems for the future investigator.⁵¹

⁵¹Georg Thiele, Der Lateinische Aesop des Romulus und die Prosa-Fassungen des Phädrus (Heidelberg: Winter, 1910) has supplanted the 5th edition of Romulus done by Hervieux. Roger's Aesop citations correspond in sense with the following fables of Romulus:

Thiele Fab. III (Wolf and Lamb); 168V, VI (Dog-Meat-Bridge); 73V, XI (Wolf and crane); 51R (Roger substitutes a stork; cf. Odo's story, Hervieux, II, 602). XIX (Raven, fox and cheese); 173R, XX (Old lion maltreated by boar, bull, and ass); 49V, LIII (Arrogant war-horse and ass); 32R, LXV (Wolf and chained dog); 176R, LXXXVI (Fox and lion's cave); 176V., Mons et murem, att. Aesop, 75R(2). The language, however, differs in many places. Waltham apparently, if frequency is any guide, preferred the fables of Odo to those of Aesop.

The following fables agree roughly with those published by Hervieux (Les fabulistes latins, II, 587-713 [Paris, 1884]):

Hervieux, Fab. no.	Page	Folium
IV.	599	20V
V.	599	20V
VI.	600	150V (cf. Romulus, XLV)
VII.	601	166V
VIII.	601	166V
IX.	602	153R (Romulus, XVII)
IX.	602	51R (Rom. XI)
XX.	608	176V (Rom. XV)
XXI. (IIa)	616	27R
(XLII)		
XXIV.	642	78R
XXVI.	611	21R
XXIX(XLVI)	643	168V (Rom. III)
LXXIII	645	73V

Other fables attributed to Odo, but not included in the texts printed by Hervieux are found on fols. 73R and 75R, of which one is given by Hervieux, II, 742 from an anonymous collection of fables. The Isidore fable is from Etym. I. xl, 7; 57R. Note that Roger calls Odo "St. Odo de Narbona," cites the fables as "Parabola."

The influence of the Polieraticus of John of Salisbury is obvious but not, in all cases, clearly defined in the preceding references. A curious combination of verbal agreement with and variations from the text makes it difficult to make any definite attributions. Roger has a story of Lupus Trecensis and Attila (71V) differing from Polieraticus IV, 11 (I. 236). An interesting phrase, "Rex illiteratus est quasi asinus coronatus," occurs on folium 23V, apparently regarded as a proverbial expression. I have found this in Polieraticus (Webb I, 254, 11.25-26) and elsewhere. An interesting variation is to be found in the poem of Abelard to his son Astralabius:

"insipiens rex est asinus diademate pollens tam sibi
quam cunctis perniciosus hic est."⁵²

Roger has several other passages for which parallels may be found in John of Salisbury; but I question whether they were taken from the Polieraticus. The story of old Duellius and his young wife as found in Roger (88R) corresponds verbally with Jerome Jovinian, I, 46, but varies from Polieraticus. The story of Socrates and his two wives (87V) follows Jovinian I, 48, although it is to be found also in Polieraticus VIII, xi (Webb, II,

⁵²John of Salisbury Polieraticus:

I. iv. (I. 177) :	174R	III. xiv (I. 222) :	173V
I. i (I. 13) :	17R	III. xiv (I. 224) :	87R
I. iv. (I. 34,35) :	27V	III. xiv (I. 228) :	82V
I. vi. (I. 38) :	23V	III. xiv (I. 223-4) :	87V
I. iv. (I. 25) :	183V	III. xiv (I. 225-7) :	87R
		III. iv. v (I. 177) :	174R
		notes I, 184	
IV. iiii (123R note)		VI. xii () :	77V
(w. I, 243)		VI. i (II. 9) :	77V
IV. vii (I, 256) :	23V	VI. xix :	76V
		note Hannibal & Antiochus.	
IV. viii (I, 262) :	120V		
IV. viii (I, 263) :	101R	VI. ix (II. 23) :	45V
IV. vi (I, 254) :	23V	VI. xvii (II. 46) :	45V
V. ix (I. 326) :	165R	VI. iv (II. 14) :	76R
V. x (I. 328) :	181 ff. Jerome vs. Jovinian	VI. xxi (II. 65) :	180R note
		VIII. xiv (II. 332) :	50V
V. xv (I, 346) :	164V	VIII. vi (II. 251) :	179 note
V. vii (I. 308) :	120V		

301). A note from Galen (Jovinian II, xi) is found in Policraticus (Webb, II, 256, ll. 13ff) and Compendium 182V. Likewise the alleged statement of Cato "nolite existimare majores nostros armis rempublicam ex parva magnam fecisse" is given by Roger on folium 58R; he could have had it from Sallust Cat. 111, 19, Augustine De civitate dei, V, 12 or Policraticus (Webb II, 245, l. 12). Several passages parallel to the Policraticus have been cited elsewhere in the notes (cf. Vegetius, Frontinus esp.).

St. Bernard contributed something to Waltham's reading list. Although I have not worked out the exact borrowings from the Cistercian, there is enough evidence to posit familiarity, direct or indirect, with some of his writings. Roger's affection for the Cistercians or at least his lack of hostility toward them, may be due to his dependence upon the works of Helinandus, a devoted member of that order.⁵³

⁵³St. Bernard Letter to Eugenius III

Folium 16V
25V
25V
143V
153V
166V

Letters to the Duke of Aquitaine 144V

Letters to the Archbishop of Sens 153R, 153V.

One letter without specific designation is also employed: 25R. On fol. 76R there are two excerpts from the Exhortation to the Templars; the Apologeticus is represented on 58V and two pieces from the fourth sermon on Advent fol. 51V.

AN ILLUSTRATIVE PORTION OF THE TEXT OF THE COMPENDIUM.

FOLS. 16R-17V

Prologus in compendium Morale. De virtuosis dictis et factis exemplaribus antiquorum Regum, Principum et Philosophorum.

Sapientiam antiquorum exquiret sapiens et narrationes virorum nominatorum conservabit. Ecclesiasticus XXXIV et Idem/ VIII. Non te pretereat narratio seniorum, quoniam ab ipsis discas intellectum; ipsi enim didicerunt a patribus/ suis.

Petrus eciam Diaconus in principio primi libri dialogorum petens a beato Gregorio. Tunc expositionibus/ vacanti antiquorum precedencium mores et virtutes/ sibi narrari; ait ad eum: Vellem querenti michi/ de eis aliqua enarrares; neque pro hac re interrompere expositionis tue studium. grave videatur,/ quia non dispar edificatio oritur ex memoria virtutum.

In expositione quippe/ qualiter invenienda ac tenenda sit virtus; agnoscitur.

In narratione factorum/ et signorum cognoscimus; inventa ac retenta qualiter declarentur. Et sunt non-nulli quos ad amorem patrie celestis. plus exempla: quam predicamenta succedunt. Fit ergo plerumque in audientis animo. duplex adjutorium in exemplis/ patrum. quia ad amorem ventura vite ex precedentium comparatione accenditur./ et iam si se esse aliquid existimat: cum de aliis meliora cognoverit; humiliatur./ Et per Senecam secunda declamatione. VIII libri Declamationum. Quandoque eciam corruptarum sententiarum/ exempla. ex industria ponimus, ut facilius quid imitandum et quid vitandum/ sit; doceamur exemplo. Et ideo secundum eundem epistola LXXXIII. Instruenda est vita/ exemplis

illustribus. (16R2)

Et idem Epistola CIII. Cogita quantum nobis exempla bona prosint; Scies magnorum virorum non magis presentiam esse utilem; quam memori-am. Et idem Epistola LIX. Antiqui Poete qui simplici-ter et demonstrande rei/ causa eloquebantur; parabolis referti sunt. quas estimo necessarias ut/ inbecillitatis nostre adminu-cula sint. et ut dicentem et audientem in rem/ presentem adducant. Quia secundum Tullium libro de Oratore. Historia est/ temporum testis. lux veritatis. vita memorie. magistra vite. nuncia vetusta-/tis. Unde dictus Seneca in Prologo primi libri declama-cionum. ait: Facitis autem Juvenes mei/ rem necessariam et utilem. quod non contenti exemplis seculi vestri. prioris quoque vultis/ agnoscere; Primum; quia quo plura exempla inspecta sunt; plus in elo-quencia proficitur. Non enim est unus quamvis precipuus sit imitandus; quia/ nunquam par fit imitator actori; Et Marcius Varro in dictis suis morali-bus ait: Excellentissimum et accep-tissimum docendi genus est; exemplorum/ subdicio. Exempla enim majorum; sunt incitamenta virtutum. Policraticus libro primo./ Et cum a veteribus dicta referimus; ipsa utique dignitate aucto-rum defendimur./ Nec pudeat que a maioribus dicta sunt. itera-cione percurrere.

Ait enim Oracius in Poetria Que placuere semel; decies repetita placebunt. Et Plenius Secundus Orator in Epistola ad Urcinum. dicit: quod sicut faces ignem assidua concussi-one custodiunt; sic dicentis calor et audientis intentio continua-tione/ (16V1) servatur. Intercapedine vero; quasi remissione languescit. Et per Senecam Epistola LXIV./ Eciam si omnia a veteribus inventa sint; hoc semper novum erit. usus. et invento-rum ab aliis sci-encia. et dispositio. Puta si relictas sint nobis medicamenta. quibus sanentur. oculi:/ non opus est alia

querere; sed hec modis et temporibus suis aptanda sunt. ut videlicet;/ hinc acuatur visus. hinc humor avertatur; illinc crassitudo palpebrarum attenu-etur et cetera similia. Sic animi remedia inventa sunt ab antiquis set ut teras ista./ oportet. et eligas tempus et adhibeas singulis modum.

Et idem Epistola XCIV. Quecumque salutaria sunt; sepe agitari oportet. sepe versari. ut non tantum nota sint nobis; sed etiam parata./ Et adice quod aperta queque; aperciore fieri debent. ne in nobis verificetur illud dictum viri eloquentissimi Marci Varronis. Canale fissum; est auris. que audita et accepta. memorie non commendat. Quia ut ait idem Seneca Epistola LXXXIV Alit lectio/ ingenium studio fatigatum; non tamen sine studio reficit. Nec scribere tantum; nec/ legere debemus; sed alterum altero temperandum est. Ut quicquid lectione collectum est; stilus/ redigat in corpus. Apes imitari debemus que vagantur et flores ad faciendum mel/ idoneos carpunt; Deinde quicquid attulere disponunt; ac per favos digerunt./ Et ut Virgilius ait liquetius mella stipant: et dulci distendunt nectare cellas./ Sicque que ex tenerimis virentium florentiumque decerpserint; non sine quodam ut/ ita dicam fermento in unum diversa coalescunt. Nos quoque has apes debemus/ imitari. et quecumque ex diversa lectione congressimus; separatim digerere. Melius/ (16V2) enim distincta servantur. deinde adhibita ingenii nostris aura et facultate; in unum saporem. varia illa libamenta confundere. Ut etiam si apparuerit unde sumptum est;/ aliud tamen esse quam unde est sumptum appareat. Sicut in nostro corpore videmus sine ulla/ opera nostra facere naturam. Alimenta que accepimus quam diu in sua qualitate per-durant. et solida innatant stomacho. onera sunt. Ac cum ex eo quod erant; immutata/ sunt. tunc demum. et in vires et in sanguinem transeunt. Idem in hiis que alunt ingenia

prestemus. Ut quecumque hausimus. non patiamur integra esse nec aliena./ set quoquam illa. Alioquin in memoriam ibunt. non in ingenium. Sicut/ fit concentus ex dissonis. talem animum nosrum esse volo. Multe in illo artes. multa/ precepta sint. multarum etatum exempla. sed in unum conspirata et hoc assidua intentione efficiatur. Verumptamen sensus hebes. neglegentie torpor. et inutiles/ occupationes; nos paucula scire permittunt. et aliquociens scita . excutit ab ipso per temporis lapsum fraudatrix scientie. et inimica memorie oblivio. Quia/per Senecam libro vi De naturalibus questionibus. Ex hiis que parum investigata. antiqui reli/querunt; multa que inventa erant oblitterantur. Et secundum Augustinum Sensus/ est rei cuiusque adinventio. Memoria: rei invente recordatio. Ille excogitata reperit; hec reperta custodit. Sed secundum Bernardum ad Eugenium Papam./ Nil tam fixum animo; quod neglectu vel tempore non absolescat. Et secundum Valerium/ libro viii. Otium industrie studio videtur contrarium precipue tamen subvecti de-bet. non quo evanescat virtus. sed quo recreetur hominem; quippe rerum natura continui laboris patientem esse non sinit. Juxta illud Ovidii libro Epistolarum. Quod caret alterna: requie durabile non est. Hec reparat vires; fessa/ (17R1) que membra novat. Quia per Senecam in prologo primi libri Declamacionum. Omnibus; max-ime studiosis. prodest quandoque animum laxare; excitatur enim virtus ocio; et omnis tristicia/ que continuatione studii pertinacis adducitur. feria cum hilaritate discutitur./

Et per eundem Senecam libro iv. de virtutibus. Non semper in actu sis; sed interdum animo tuo requiem/ dato et requies ipsa. plena sit sapientie studiis et cohortacionibus bonis. Prudens/ nunquam ocio merces aliquando animum habet remissum nunquam solutum. Et quamquam per Senecam epistola/ cxvii. paucis fit ad

mentem bonam uti literis. quia quemadmodum aliarum rerum; sic litterarum/ intemperancia laboramus. quia non vite; sed scole discimus. Tamen per Marcum Var-ronem in sentenciis moralibus. Multum interest ut rem ipsam; aut libros inspiceas,/ libri enim, nonnisi scientiarum paupercula munimenta sunt. principia inquirendorum conti-nent. ut ab hiis negociandi principia. sumat animus. Cum igitur literarum infor-matio. sit dulce viaticum senectutis, et litere insipienti animo tanquam baculus infirmo/ corpori parentur. Idcirco in remedium inbellicitatis humane; fructuosus litterarum/ usus. est divinitus ordinatus per quem intersticiorum. loci et temporis exclusa molestia di-ligens scribentium solici-tudo. res scitu dignas. ad posteros transmittit; absentia/ et preterita. sua luce semper presentialiter exhibens et illustrans. Dicitur quidem Polieratico. libro primo. Quod in labore; recreatio. in dolore; solatium. In paupertate; jocunditas./ In divitiis et deliciis; modestia. fidenter a literis mutuatur. Nam a viciis repri-mitur animus. et suavi ac mira quadam eciam in adversis jocunditate. reficitur; cum ad legendum vel scribendum utilia; mentis intendit acumen. eo quidem/ delectabilius; quo cuique/ (17R2) sensus integrior et ratio viget acumine iudicii purio-ris.

Et dictus Seneca libro vii. de beneficiis. in principio. recitando dictum demetrii cinici/ ait. Egregie michi videtur dicere hec. Demetrius Cinicus. vir iudicio meo mag-nus. et si maximis compararetur. Solet plus prodesse si pauca precepta sapientie teneas/ si illa in promptu et usu tibi sint; quam si multa quidem didiceris. et illa non habeas/ ad manum. "Quemadmodum" inquit "magnus luctator est." non qui omnes nervos/ nexusque perdidicit sed qui in uno se aut altero bene ac diligenter excercuit. et eorum occasio-nes intentus expectat. nec enim refert

quam multa vel pauca sciat. si sit quantum victoriae satis est.

Et per eundem Senecam. epistola xxxviii. Plurimum proficit sermo qui minutatim/ irrepit animo. Nec enim multis verbis opus est/: sed efficacibus; et seminis modo spargenda sunt. quod quamvis sit exiguum cum occupaverit idoneum locum; vires explicat. et/ minimo in maximos actus diffunditur.

Ait etiam idem Seneca in prologo primi/ libri declamationum. Memoria ex omnibus animi partibus; res est magis delicata et fragilis/ in quam; senectus primum incurrit. Et secundum Platonem Memoria senis. se habet ad modum/ lapidis qui difficile impressionem recipit. Memoria vero Juvenis ad modum/ aque vel cere calide; que omnes ymagines vel impressiones facile recipit. Et quia/ per dictum Senecam. Distrahit animum librorum multitudo; et facilius simul collecta intuentur/ quam per multa volumina dispersa.

Et per hugonem de Sancto Victore Libro iiii. didas-calicon. Memoria hominis hebes est. ac brevitatem gaudet. Et alibi dicitur Gaudent/ brevitatem moderni. Ideo in isto tractatu multa sub brevi literali compendio/ compilantur.

APPENDIX TO THE COMPENDIUM MORALE

Note 15.

Valerius Maximus

Fact. et Dict.
Memorabil.

I.	1	Ext. 3 :	167V	
II.	vii	6 :	76V	
II.	vii	15 :	77R, 78V	
II.	vii	Ext. 2 :	77R	
II.	viii	1 :	77V	
II.	ix	1 :	58R	
III.	ii	3 :	72V	
III.	ii	4,6 :	49R	
III.	iii	2 :	88V	
III.	iii	Ext.2,3,		
		4 :	88V	
III.	vii	Ext. 8 :	75R, 76V	
III.	viii	8 :	56R	
IV.	i	5,6 :	145R	
IV.	i	Ext.1,2 :	92R	
IV.	i	Ext. 3 :	31R	
IV.	i	Ext.8,9 :	32V	
IV.	i	Ext. 9 :	145R	
IV.	ii	5 :	55R	"Menilio lep- ido et Fluvio facto cens."
IV.	ii	Ext. 1 :	58R	
IV.	iii	Ext. 1 :	58R	
IV.	iii	5 :	80R, 64R	
IV.	iii	6 :	154R	
IV.	iii	Ext. 4 :	85V	
IV.	iii	Ext. 4 :	160V	
IV.	v	1 :	183V	
IV.	v	Ext. 1 :	179R	
IV.	vii	Ext. 1 :	169V	
IV.	vii	Ext. 2 :	130V	
V.	i	1 :	123R	
V.	i	4 :	122R	
V.	i	6 :	121V	
V.	i	10 :	123R	
V.	i	8 :	123R	
V.	i	Ext. 1 :	123R	
V.	i	Ext. 3 :	90R	
V.	iii	Ext. 3 :	50V	
V.	vi	1 :	34R	
V.	vi	3 :	145R	
V.	vi	Ext. 1 :	75V	Codrus.cf.Aug. De Civ.Dei, and Oesterley, Ges- ta Romanorum, No.41, p.340.

V.	viii	Ext.	3 :	34V	
V.	x	Ext.	2 :	113V	
V.	x	Ext.	3 :	109R	
VI.	ii		1 :	85R	
VI.	ii		8 :	85V	
VI.	ii	Ext. 1,3 :		85V	Ext. 2 repeated on fol. 174R.
VI.	ii	Ext.	3 :	88R	
VI.	iv		1 :	145R	
VI.	iv		2 :	162V	
VI.	iv		4 :	170R	
VI.	v		1 :	82R	
VI.	v	Ext.	1 :	164R	
VI.	v	Ext.	2 :	50V	
VI.	v	Ext.	3 :	34R, 50V	
VI.	v	Ext.	4 :	52R	"Carnidio Tirio" for Charundas Thuri.
VI.	viii		1 :	170R	
VI.	ix	Ext.	7 :	32R	
VI.	ix		6 :	31R	
VII.	ii		2 :	75R	
VII.	ii		11 :	193V	
VII.	ii		12 :	162V	
VII.	ii	Ext.	1 :	106R, 74R	
VII.	ii	Ext.	3 :	114R	"Bayas Prieneus" for Bias of Priene.
VII.	ii	Ext.	4 :	22R	
VII.	ii	Ext.	5 :	144V	
VII.	ii	Ext.	9 :	58R	
VII.	ii	Ext.	10 :	55R	
VII.	ii	Ext.	11 :	50V	
VII.	iii	Ext.	3 :	171V	
VII.	iv		3 :	81R	
VIII.	viii		1 :	16V	
VIII.	xiv		5 :	74R	
VIII.	xiv	Ext.	2 :	143V	
IX.	i	parts of			
		Prol. 3			
		and			
		Ext.	1 :	179V	
IX.	i	Ext.	4 :	76V	
IX.	ii	Ext.	9 :	57V	
IX.	iv		1 :	154R	
IX.	xii	Ext.	1 :	199R	

There are also some passages erroneously attributed to Valerius Maximus: fol. 180R, cit. to Valerius, lib. VIII, which is taken from Policraticus VI. xxiii (Webb, II, 65, for which cf. Aulus Gellius Noct. Attic. I. viii and note of Hertz ad loc. cit: fol. 87V, cit. to Valerius Maximus lit. V, from Policraticus III. xiv (Webb, I, 224 and note to LL. 13-14: fol. 76V cit. Valerius, see note to Valerius Maximus IX. i. Ext. 4, ed. Kempt, Lips. 1888. The story of Hannibal and Antiochus is in Gellius, N.A. V v. 76V and in Policraticus VI. xix (Webb, II. 54) G.V. supra. I can not locate a Valerius Maximus reference, fol. 77R.

Note 18.

Seneca Citations in the Compendium Morale

<u>Epistolae</u>		<u>Folium</u>		<u>Epistolae</u>		<u>Folium</u>	
I.	1	17V,	59R	XXVI.	4	202V	
I.	2	192R		XXVII.	2	202V	
II.	3	17R		XXVIII.	1	192R	
II.	4	178V		XXVIII.	9	198R	
II.	6	154R		XXIX.	9	59R	
III.	2	170V		XXIX.	10	131R	
III.	5	191R		XXX.	4	203R	
IV.	1	22V		XXXI.	4	107V	
IV.	2	23V		XXXI.	8	191V	
IV.	3	88R		XXXI.	10	142R	
IV.	5	190R		XXXII.	2	65V	
IV.	7	32R		XXXII.	3	197V	
IV.	10	160R		XXXIV.	1	17V	
IV.	11	154R		XXXIV.	3	197V	
V.	1	26V		XXXV.	4	192R	
V.	4	190R		XXXVI.	1	115R	
V.	6	160V		XXXVI.	6	160R	
VI.	1	198R		XXXVII.	1	203R	
VI.	4	17V		XXXVII.	4	22V,	25V
VI.	5	128V		XXXVII.	5	56V	
VII.	8	66R		XXXVIII.	1	17R	
VIII.	3	198V		XXXIX.	2	26V	
VIII.	9	162R		XXXIX.	4	200V	
IX.	1	114R		XL.	2	193R	
IX.	7	170V		XL.	4	26R	
IX.	20	162R,	169R	XLI.	21	84R	
X.	4	21V		XLI.	6	142R	
XI.	8	198R		XLIII.	3	21V	
XII.	6	197R		XLIV.	4	141V	
XII.	11	79R		XLV.	1	191V	
XIII.	17	23R		XLV.	5	169R	
XIV.	7	86V		XLV.	7	173V	
XIV.	14	30R		XLV.	9	85R,	105V
XIV.	16	56V		XLVII.	1	30V	
XIV.	17	154V		XLVII.	16	143V	
XV.	5	199R		XLVIII.	2	171R	
XV.	9	199V		XLVIII.	12	203V	
XVI.	1	198R		XLIX.	2	203V	
XVI.	2	174V		XLIX.	12	85R	
XVI.	7	160R		L.	1	199V	
XVIII.	3	189V		LI.	4	175V	
XVIII.	5	200R		LI.	9	104V	
XVIII.	12	160R		LII.	1	55V	
XVIII.	14	92V		LIII.	7	198R	
XIX.	1	197R		LIII.	10	88R,	123V
XX.	3	192R		LIV.	7	204V	
XXI.	7	107V		LV.	1	175V	
XXI.	11	178V		LV.	8	192R	
XXII.	3	197R		LV.	11	171R	
XXIII.	1	192V		LVI.	5	199R	
XXIII.	6	84R		LVIII.	22	199R	
XXIII.	9	197V		LVIX.	6	16R	
XXIV.	2	202R		LVIX.	7	102V	
XXIV.	4	198V		LVIX.	13	174R	
XXIV.	16	177V		LVIX.	14	102V	

<u>Epistolae</u>		<u>Folium</u>
LVIX.	18	161V
LX.	1	177R
LXI.	1	210R
LXII.	1	22V
LXII.	3	161R, 160R
LXIII.	1	113V
LXIV.	5	103R
LXIV.	8	16V
LXV.	16	103R
LXV.	21	104V
LXV.	22	103R
LXVI.	23	115R
LXVI.	30	114V
LXVII.	10	55R, 86R
LXVIII.	2	22R
LXIX.	1	192R
LXIX.	12	57R
LXX.	4	203V
LXXI.	8	104R
LXXI.	36	198R
LXXI.	37	26R
LXXII.	3	204R
LXXIII.	2	162V
LXXIII.	12	115R
LXXIV.	3	109R
LXXIV.	30	113V
LXXV.	4	56R
LXXV.	10	122R
LXXVI.	3	62R
LXXVI.	4	131R
LXXVIII.	3	171R
LXXVIII.	6	101V
LXXVIII.	14	120V
LXXVIII.	26	85R
LXXIX.	8	102R
LXXIX.	18	48V
LXXX.	2	102R
LXXX.	10	174V
LXXX.	8	143V
LXXXI.	20	131R
LXXXI.	5	88V
LXXXII.	3	191R
LXXXIII.	2	178V
LXXXIII.	11	85R
LXXXIII.	13	16R
LXXXIII.	19	120R
LXXXIII.	20	177V
LXXXIV.	2	16V
LXXXIV.	3	16V
LXXXV.	2	83R
LXXXVII.	3	200R
LXXXVII.	16, 21	108V
LXXXVII.	23	81V
LXXXVIII.	19	26R
LXXXIX.	18	17V
XC.	4	22R
XC.	14	105V
XC.	16	201R
XC.	34	25R

<u>Epistolae</u>		<u>Folium</u>
XC.	38	160R
XCI.	3	69R
XCI.	16	141R
XCII.	3	204V
XCII.	33	201R
XCIII.	34	204V
XCIV.	7	88R, 205R
XCIV.	13	193V
XCIV.	26	16V
XCIV.	28	90R
XCIV.	40	65R
XCIV.	46	54V
XCIV.	60	26V
XCV.	23	178V
XCV.	31	52R
XCV.	35	45V
XCV.	52	53R
XCVII.	10	55V
XCVIII.	2	105R
C.	1	204R
C.	2	113R
CI.	1	204R
CII.	10	73R
CII.	26	216R
CII.	30	16R
CIII.	3	122V
CIV.	3, 7, 12	13ff 196V
CIV.	5	30R
CV.	6	193R
CV.	7	122R
CVI.	12	17R
CVII.	3	116V
CVIII.	2	161R
CVIII.	4	65R
CVIII.	9	154R
CVIII.	10	26R
CVIII.	24	205R
CX.	1	65V
CX.	14	116R
CX.	20	174V
CXIV.	30	25V
CXIV.	32	74R
CXIV.	31	51V
CXIV.	27	86R
CXIV.	24	196V
CXV.	3	114R
CXVI.	2	175R
CXVI.	10	159R
CXVIII.	12	205V
CXIX.	2	206R
CXIX.	3	190V
CXX.	6	82R
CXXI.	8	206R
CXXI.	18	85R
CXXII.	15	190R
CXXII.	2	189V
CXXIV.	12, 22	63V

Note 18.

Seneca in Compendium Morale

De beata vita

I.	3	25V
II.	1	64V
II.	3	64V
III.	4	100V
IV.	1	22V
V.	3	49R
VII.	4	176V
VIII.	6	54V
XI.	2	175V
XII.	4	183V
XV.	5	107V
XVII.	3	61V
XX.	2	27V
XXIV.	4	131R
XXV.	5	106R

De beneficiis

I.	1.	3	123V
II.	xvi.	17	123V
II.	xvii	1	123V
II.	xxi	5	165R
III.	1	1	125V
III.	xxviii	1	142R
IV.	1	2	126V
IV.	xiv	1	183R
V.	1	4	73R
V.	vi	2-7	164R
VI.	ii	1	127V
VI.	xxix	2	169R
VI.	xxx	3	173R
VI.	xxxi	1-12	45R
VI.	xxxii	4	67V
VI.	xxxiii		
	xxxiv		171R
VII.	1	3	17R
VII.	ii	2	190R
VII.	iv	2	30R
VII.	vii		128R

De consolatione ad Marciam

IX.	3	211R
X.	1	111R
X.	5	211R a few words; the bulk of this citation is Seneca Nat. Quest. VI. xxxii, 12.
XI.	1	111V
XXI.	6	109R

De brevitae vitae

I.	3	59R
XIII.	7	151V
XIV.	1	17V
XVIII.	1	197R
XIX.	2	26R

De clementia

I.	1	7	159V
I.	iv	3	18R
I.	xvii	2,3	122R
I.	iii	2	117R 117ff. almost the whole of the first book of the <u>De clementia</u> is abstracted.
I.	iii	4ff.	117R
II.	ii	3	117R
II.	iii	1	117R
II.	v	4	122R
II.		6,4	120V

De consolatione ad Helviam

II.	3	112V
VI.	6	116R
IX.	2	26R
IX.	7	192R
X.	2	160V
XIII.	2	154R
XVI.	1	114R

De consolatione ad Marciam

I.	2	100V
IV.	4	117R
V.	5	116R

De consolatione ad Polybium

I.	1	162R cit.
		"De tranquillitate animi."
IV.	1	110R cit.
		"De brevitae vitae."
III.	5	92R
V.	1ff	89V
V.	6	161R
V.	6	114R
XII.	2	66R
XIV.	2	153V
XIV.	3	88V

De ira

I.	1	1	92V
I.	xv	3	130V, 89R
II.	xv	5	96R
II.	xviii	2	26R
II.	xx-xxi	1	26R
II.	xxix	3	48V
II.	xxxii	6	117R
III.		5	92R
III.	xxxviii	1ff.	90R
III.	xxii	2	87V
III.	xi	4	89R
III.	xiii	3	89R
III.	xiii	1	65R
III.	xvi	1	115V
III.	xxv	3	88V
III.	xxx	4	123V
III.	xxxvi	1	61V
III.	xxxvii	2	163V

De naturalibus quaestionibus

I.	praef.	4	201R
I.	praef.	5	26R
II.	42-59	206, 207	
	paraphrase		
II.	59,3	202R	
II.	59,4	211R	
III.	praef.	2	207V
III.	praef.	10	26V
III.	praef.11-15	102V	
IV.	praef. 3-18	172V	
	abridged		
V.	xv	3	161V
V.	xviii	15	161V
VI.	1	4	208R
VI.	32	bits.	
	(T.p.231-234 bits)		
VII.	1	1	198V
VII.	9,3	116R	
VII.	32,4	16V	

De formula honestae vitae

(cit. always De quattuor virtutibus)

II.	1	69R
II.	3	22V
II.	10	17R
III.	4	75R
IV.	9	131R
IV.	10	173R
V.	1	51R
V.	4	56R
IX.	1-2	52R

De tranquillitate animi

III.	3	57R
VI.	1	194V
VI.	3	161R
VII.	2	100V
VII.	3	171R, 66R
VIII.	9	154R
IX.	2	200V
X.	1	115V
X.	6	159V
XI.	9	31V
XIV.	2	114V

De remediis fortuitorum

II.	3	201V
IX.	3	115R
X.	4	166R

De providentia dei

I.	6	104V
II.	2 and	
III.	3,5	106R
	composite passage	
III.	4,9,11	80V
IV.	3	106R
V.	9	27V

De paupertate cit. De verborum copia ad Paulum Apostolum*
 excerpt collection from the Epistolae of Seneca cf. Haase's
 supplement to the works of Seneca in the Teubner series, p. 57.
 The excerpt cited above is in Roger 160R (= Seneca Ep. 17. 11).

The following alleged Seneca passages I have been unable
 to locate: 17V, 24V, 26R, 30V, 32V, 58V, 73R, 73V, 75R, 75V,
 82V, 85R, 87V, 89V, 102V, 115R, 115R, 115V, 122R, 142R, 142V,
 161V, 165V, 171R, 173V, 211R, 211V.

Note 33.

Biblia Sacra in Roger de Waltham (467 Citations)

<u>Genesis</u>			<u>II Kings (II Samuel)</u>		
41:41	21R		11,12: -	179V	para-phrase
<u>Exodus</u>			11: 1	74V	
3: 2	151R		11:2-5	186V	
18:21	154V,162V		13: -	57V	para-phrase
18:19	56V		16: 7	86R	
20:13	213V		16:10-12	86V	
22:28	41R				
23: 8	162V		<u>III Kings</u>		
28:30	152V		2:25	150R	
<u>Leviticus</u>			3: 9	22R	
19:16,18	120R		3:11-12	22R	
<u>Numbers</u>			11: -	79V	para-phrase
11:16	23R		11: 2	186R	
25: 1	185V		12:8-11	174R	
27:18	18V		<u>IV Kings</u>		
31:15	185V		19:37	150R	
25: 4	145R				
<u>Deuteronomy</u>			<u>II Chronicles</u>		
8:17	70R		1:10	22R	
9: 4	70R		14:11-13	66V	
10:12	171V		20:12	66V	
15:19	23R		20:20	66V	
16:18	33R, 162V		21: 4	150V	
16:19	162V		<u>Tobit</u>		
17:18-20	25R		3:21-22	198V	
20: 8	78V		4:14	140V	
20:10	67V		4:11	156V	
20: 1	74V		4:19	56V	
20: 8	69V		12: 9	156V	
22:11	169R		12:13	86V	
23: 9	70R		<u>Judith</u>		
32:27-30	70R		8:21	86V	
<u>Joshua</u>			9:6-9	74V	
10:24-26	135R		9:16	74V	
8:2,4,7,12,19	80V		16:26	179R	
10: 9	70R		13:4,10	179R	
<u>Judges</u>			15: 4	69V	
5:21	135R		<u>Esther</u>		
<u>I Kings (I Samuel)</u>			3,4: -	57V	para-phrase
14:43	34R		<u>Job</u>		
14:43	50V		1:21	211V	
15:33	135R		5:14	167V	
16: 7	135R		5:24	139V	
17:23	57V		7:6-7	210V	
17:45	67R		10:20	211R	
25:34	86V				
25:36	101R				

11:12	139V
11:17	216R
13: 5	192V
12: 4	87R
12:12	57R
14:1,5	210V
16:13	209R
16:23	210V
16:20	131V
17:12	189V
17:14	139V
27:19	214R
29:25	99V
31: 1	179V
30:25	121R
31:23	211V
31:38	133R
36:18	99V
40:19	186R

On 215V is a quotation
which is neither Job nor
Gregory on Job 13:26.

Psalms

2:10-12	25V
7:16	130V
10: 3	168V
12: 3	193R
20:7-8	74V
24:3-4	168R
31:18	193R
33:22	215R
33:13-14	193R
39: 1	167R
41: 1	157V
44:6-7	74V
44:8-9	158V
49:6,17	150V
49:12	140R
53:2-4	189V
53: 6	137R
55:12	192V
55:14	54V
70: 5	214V
73:23	193V
77: 4	193V
89:48	211R
106:35	167R
111: 9	157R
112: 9	158V
118:37	186V
120: 2	193R
120:2-4	167R
127: 3	215V
137: 6	141R
140: 4	154R
140: 5	174R
144: 1	74V

Proverbs

1:10	173R
3: 5	66V
3:14	25V
3: 9	156R
3:34	167R
4:25,27	56V
5:24	167R
6: 3	133R
6:24	179R
6:16,17	140R
6:34	216R
7:10	188V
7:21-23	179R
8:11	23V
8:12	56V
8:13	140R
8:15	23V
8:20-21	23V
9: 1	51V
9:12	25V
10:19	192V
10:29	142V
11:14	56V
11: 2	140R
11:17	120V
11:20	169R
11:22	185V
12:19,22	49R
13:14	25V
13:20	65R
13:13	120V
14:28	120V
15: 1	86V, 193R
15:12	65R
15:18	99V
15:22	56V
15:27	21R
16: 1	24R
16:5-6	21R
16: 7	66V
16:10	25R
16:18	140V
16:32	100V
17:11	87R
17:15	51R
17:16	58R
17:23	162V
17:27	192V
17:28	193V
18: 1	169V
18:16	164V
19: 6	164V
19:11	88R
19:25	77R
19:17	165R
20: 1	179R
20:18	56V

20:24	216R	7:40	211R
20:28	21R	8: 4	87R
21:27	156R	8:11	16R
22: 9	164V	9: 3	186V
22:10	87R	9:22	65R
23:31	179R	9:24	23V
24: 6	56V	9:25	87R
24:29	86V	10: 2	167R
27: 4	99V	10:1,3	24V
29:12	167R	10: 9	159R
29:14	21R	10:11	143R
		10:15	140V
<u>Ecclesiastes</u>		10:17-18	140R
4:13	22V	10:31-33	59R
5: 9	159R	12: 8	71V
5:12-13	159V	12:8,12	172R
6:1-2	159V	13: 1	65R
7:10	99V	14: 5	26R
7:29	172R	14:20	211R
9: 1	216R	18:23	21V
9:10	210V	18:30	178V
9:17	24V	19: 2	179V
9:18	57R	19:23	141R
10: 5	153V	20: 5	193R
10:16	23R	20:26,27	167R
10:17	178R	20:31	162V
11: 6	210V	25: 1	54V
11: 9	23R	25: 3	23V
		25:7-8	57R
<u>Wisdom</u>		25:23	186R
1: 1	52R	25:28,33	186V
3: 9	56R	26:12	186V
4: 8	23R	26:25,26	64R
5:8-11	159R	26:28	193R
5: 8	214V	27: 1	166R
5:18	71R	27: 6	106R
6: 1	24V	28: 8	99V
6: 8	135R	28:10	87R
6:10	25V	28:16	167R
6:19-20	50R	29:15	22R
6:21	24V	29:19	172V
6:22	24V	30:26	99V
7:10-12	22R	31:14-15	187R
7:13	17V	31:41	101R
9: 4	22R	32: 1	142R
9:11	22R	32:9-13	193R
		32:24	56V
<u>Ecclesiasticus</u>		33: 5	23R
1:11	40V	33:25	178V
1:16	40V	34:24	156R
3:19	100V	35:21	21V
4:33	66V	37:19	215R
5: 8	210V	37:20	26V
6: 2	139V	37:26-29	24V
6: 5	86V	37:33-34	178R
6:10	169V	41: 1	215R
6:14-16	170R	42:12-14	180R
6:35	16R		
7:4-6	145R		
7:33	40V		

<u>Isaias</u>			13:23	215V
	1:23	154V		
	2:12	140R	<u>Osee (Hosea)</u>	
	3: 7	151R	9:11	131V
	3:12	175R	13:11	136V
	3:17	186R		
	3:24	189V	<u>Joel</u>	
	5:11	177V	1:19	154V
5:20,22	176V		3: 4.	130V
5:23	162V			
10:1-2	166R	<u>Amos</u>		
10: 5	70R	6:1,4		176V
10: -	70V para-			
	phrase	<u>Micheas (Micah)</u>		
10:26	136V	3: 3		168V
13:22	173V	3: 5		99V
16: 6	140R	3: 9		59R
21:12	210V	3:11		154V
28: 1	139V			
28: 3	139V	<u>Nahum</u>		
28: 3	142R	3: 5		186R
32:17	193V			
33: 1	40V	<u>Zacharias</u>		
33: 6	40V	5: 4		168R
33:15	164V	5:1,2		130R
37:36	70V			
37:37-38	150R	<u>Malachias</u>		
40: 4	140V	1:10		154V
45: 1	29R	2: 7		41R
52:11	180V	3: 5		168R
56:10	132V, 154V			
58: 1	133V	<u>I Machabees</u>		
64: 6	216R	3:18		74V
		3:23		70R
		7:passim		139R
<u>Jeremias</u>				
	1: 6	151R		
	2:36	156R	<u>II Machabees</u>	
	6:13	154V	3,4:passim	45R
	9: 4	169V	6:19ff	134V
	10:21	133R	6:passim	45R
	30:16	130V	7: -	135R
	33: 1	136R	Bits attributed to Macha-	
	50: 6	133R	bees but probably variants	
			from Comestor on 66V, 76V,	
			142R.	
<u>Ezechiel</u>				
	3: 6	174V		
	13: 5	133V	<u>Matthew</u>	
	29:18	70V	5:3-12	158R
	34: 4	100V	6: 2	73V
	34:2-5	136R	10:16	168V
	34:10	136R	7: 2	130V
			16:12	131V
			17: 5	131V
<u>Daniel</u>			18:15-17	132V
	4:30	100V	22:39	54R
	4:22	139R, 140R	24:45	21R
	5:30	150R	25:31-36	158R
	6:25	150R	25:41	215V
	13: -	186R Whole	26:52	150V
		chapter,	26:52	99V
		abridged.		

<u>Mark</u>	9:40	158R	<u>II Corinthians</u>	1:12	131V
	12:42	158R			
<u>Luke</u>	4:16	147V	<u>Galatians</u>	1:10	137R
	6:28	86V		6: 1	99R
	6:36	120V		6:10	157R,211R
	11:41	157R	<u>Ephesians</u>	4: 2	53R
	12:15	154V		4:26	99V
	13:32	166R		5:18	179R
	16: 9	214V			
	19:41	186V	<u>Philippians</u>	1:23	215V
<u>John</u>	1: 8	216R		2: 6	145V
	6: 5	186V		2:21	20R,82V
	6:15	145R	<u>I Timothy</u>	4:11	23R
	8:54	73V		5: 1	99R
	9: 4	210V		5:20	132V
	10:12-13	132V		6: 9	159R
	20:17	180V		6:17	159V
<u>Acts</u>	4:32	55R	<u>II Timothy</u>	2:24	99R
	7:56	215V		3:1-5	189V
	7:51	143R		3: 5	53V
	12:21-23	174R		4: 2	99R
	20:26	133R	<u>Titus</u>	1: 9	133V
	23: 3	50V	<u>Hebrews</u>	5: 4	20R,145V
<u>Romans</u>	8:13	178V	<u>James</u>	1:20	130V
	8:25	132R		3: 2	216R
	12: 5	53R		3:17	179R,100V
	12:18	131V		4: 6	143R
	12:19	130V	<u>I Peter</u>	2: 5	53V
	13: 3	72R		2:11	178V
	13:14	178V		2:13	72R
	15: 2	137R		5: 2	142R
<u>I Corinthians</u>	1:27	24R	<u>I John</u>	3:17	53R
	4: 4	216R	<u>Apocalypse</u>	2:11	211R
	5:13	132V		12:3-4	188V
	6:13	178R		18:6-7	130V
	7: 1	180V		20:12	211R
	7:34	189V			
	9:25	70R,137R			
	10:12	99V			
	11:4-5	189R			
	11:14-15	189R			
	11:7-9	188V			
	11:1-15	188V			
		passim			
	12:26	53R			
	13: 6	130R			
	14:20	23R			

Note 34

Gratian Decretum cited in the Compendium Morale.

I Dist.			II Causa			
Dist.	Cap.	folium	Causa	Quaest.	Cap.	Fol.
iv	1,2	49V	1	1	14	152V
viii	prol.	49V	1	1	25	20R,
viii	8	49R				152V
x	prol.	50R	1	1	26	20R
xxi	8	25V	1	1	27	156R
xxiii	1	83R	1	1	97	45V
xxxii	17	180V	1	1	114	164V
xxxv	4	177R	11	7	27-	
xxxvi	2	152V			28	134R
xxxvii	3	174R	11	7	29	133V
xxxviii	10	152V	11	7	32	134R
xxxviii	15	152V	viii	1	6	20R
xxxviii	1	152V	viii	1	9	20R
xxxix	1	20R	viii	1	16	18V
xl	4	153R	viii	1	17	20R
xl	12	153R, V	viii	1	19	20R,
xli	1	178R				136R
xli	2	178V	viii	2	1	19V
xli	12	20R	ix	3	15	59R
xliii	1	132V, 133V	x	3	6	142R
xliii	2	81R	xi	1	5	47R
xliv	4	99V	xi	1	41	41R,
xliv	8	99R				47R
xliv	9	99V	xi	3	55	131V
xliv	12	155V	xi	3	56	132R
xliv	13	156R	xi	3	67	130V
xliv	17	132V	xi	3	68	130V
xlvi	prol.	100R	xi	3	69	128V
xlvi	6	143R	xi	3	72	163V
l	25	100V	xi	3	78	19V,
lxi	5	152R				164R
lxi	7	152V	xi	3	80	19V
lxi	8	152V	xi	3	80-	
lxi	12	19V			81	130V
lxiii	3	40V	xi	3	82-	
lxxxiii	2	134R			83	163V
lxxxiii	3	134R	xi	3	85	132V
lxxxiii	5	134R	xi	3	86	132R
lxxxiv	prol.	134R	xi	3	89	140R
lxxxvi	3	134R	xi	3	93	134V
lxxxvi	14-22	156R	xii	2	8	51R
lcv	7	135V	xii	2	9	51R
lcv	8	136R	xiii	1	1	136R
lcv	7	142R	xvi	1	7	57V
lcv	8	47R	xxii	2	14	81R
lcv	10	130R	xxii	2	21	81R
lcv	16	40V	xxiii	1	3	80V
			xxiii	1	4	69V
			xxiii	1	5	69V,
						165V
			xxiii	2	2	80V
			xxiii	2	6	66R
			xxiii	2	7	46R
			xxiii	4	15	157R

xx111	4	32	156R
xx111	4	48	153R
xx111	5	7	135R
xx111	5	49	70V
xx111	9	20	49R
xxv111	1	7	80V
xxv111	1	12	66R
xxx111	3	57	156V
xxx111	3	68	156V
xxx111	3	76	156V
xxx111	3	77	156V
xxx111	3	78	157R
xxx111	5	18	188V
xxxv	9	7	51R

I have been unable to locate passages on 19V, 33R cited to the Decretum.

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